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[For information pertaining to the history of relations between Kashmir and the Dardic states from 1842 - 1873, see category 116, pp. 398-399, 402-403, 406-407, 410-414, 435-455.]

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563 The Tibetan races, whom we now reach, have the characteris-
101 tics of the Turanian family (of which the Chinese and the Japanese are the instances most known to Englishmen) in varying degree. The Chāmpās have those features most markedly, next the Ladākhī, and in a less degree the Baltī. The two first of these subdivisions are Buddhist in religion, the last Muhammadan. Of these Tibetan races are the people who live in the loftiest of the inhabited regions; the Chāmpās, who are nomads, wander among the high-level valleys of Rupshu; the Ladākhīs, who are a settled and cultivating race, are in villages which in height above the sea vary from 13,500 to 9500 feet; the next, the Baltīs, are found at from 10,000 or 11,000 down to 6000 feet.

As for the languages spoken, a separate chapter treats of them, and some facts of their distribution are given in the explanation of the Language Map.* 1 n

557 Countries separated by so many mountain chains; races so
643 widely different; how did they all come to be under one ruler?

The answer to this almost resolves itself into the history of one man, of the one who by exercising with wonderful persistence the qualities of a soldier and a diplomatist succeeded in raising himself from an inconspicuous station to a position in which his adherence and goodwill became of extreme value to the British Government in India, who, in their turn, enabled him to achieve an object that for long had been dear to his heart, and in giving over to him Kashmir completed the agglomeration of all the countries we are treating of into one state. This man was Maharaja Gulāb Singh, the father of the present ruler.

175 I shall attempt a brief sketch of the course of the events which
642 led to the result above pointed out.
631 From time immemorial—the natives say for 5000 years—Jummoo has been the seat of the rule of a Hindū dynasty, of a family of Rājpūts, whose influence spread for some distance over the lower hills, the extent of that influence varying, no doubt, at different times. There was little intercourse with the outer world;

* See Chap. XXI., on Languages, and Chap. XXII., In Explanation of the Maps.

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some contact with it occurred indeed during the time from the sixteenth century onwards from the passage near, if not through, the country of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi towards Kashmir; or again when one of the Western invaders of India swept along at the foot of the hills, and the hill-men were able to annoy his armies while congratulating themselves on the rugged character of their own country, which made it by its poverty unattractive and by its difficulty of access even repulsive to those bent on rapid conquest and plunder. A little after the middle of the last century we find that the power of the Jummoo ruler, exercised either directly or by feudatory chiefs owing allegiance, extended eastwards to the Rávi River or nearly so, westwards to some miles beyond the Chinâb, southwards for some little way into the plains, and northwards as far as the beginning of Middle Mountains. The feudatory chiefs, those for instance of Akhnûr, Dalpatpûr, Kiramchi, &c., governed their own subjects, but to the ruler of Jummoo they paid tribute and did military service. During a portion of the year they would be present at Jummoo itself, attending the court of the ruler and holding separate ones themselves. At this day various spots in that town are remembered where each of these tributaries held his court on a minor scale. Doubtless there was some petty warfare, resulting sometimes in an extension and sometimes in a contraction of the power of the central ruler; but usually the chiefs were more occupied in sport than in serious fighting, and the various families continued in nearly the same relative positions for great lengths of time.

The rest of the Outer Hills and some of the Middle Mountain tract were thus occupied:—Eastward of Jummoo there were independent rulers at Basoli and Kishtwâr, of Râjpût caste, some few details of whose history will be given as we come in our geographical survey to each of those places. North-westward of Jummoo were the two small states of Bhimbar and Râjâori, whose rulers were Muhammadans, Muhammadanised descendants of Râjpût Rajas, still bearing the Hindû title of Raja and still recognized as belonging to certain subdivisions of the Râjpût caste. These two had, I think, become more closely connected

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with, more completely dependent on, the Delhi power, before its breaking up, than had the Jummoo Raja, because the highway along which the Delhi Emperors used to march from India to Kashmir led straight through their territories and past their very castles. But after the decline of the power of Delhi and the occupation of Kashmir by the Pathāns or Afghāns (who were connected with Kābul and not with India) these rulers of Bhimbar and Rājaori became again as free and independent as the one of Jummoo. Farther west, up to the Jhelam River, the ground seems to have been occupied politically by local chiefs, ruling each over but a few villages. These, all Muhammadans, ruled over Muhammadan subjects. Still in many cases the Hindū origin of both can be traced. The importance of these was nearly the same as that of the lesser chiefs of the Jummoo side; but they seem to have kept more separate, and not to have agglomerated, not to have come under any one ruler as feudatories, but to have kept independent; so that almost village by village the country was governed by separate Rajas, and to this day many headmen of villages in that western tract bear the title of "Raja."

We have thus accounted for most of the country up to the first great mountain range. Of Kashmir and Ladākh we will speak later; but now we must come back to Jummoo, on which place hinged the coming fortunes of all these regions.

At Jummoo, in the middle of the eighteenth century, ruled Raja Ranjit Dev, a man whose qualities as a ruler are there spoken of with the highest respect. He has a reputation for having been a wise administrator and a just judge. He was a tolerant man; he encouraged Muhammadans as well as the people of his own faith; under him many were attracted to Jummoo, and the town spread and flourished. Up to this time the state of independence of the mountaineers had continued. But his epoch was both the culmination and the beginning of the end of the old state of things. With his death, which occurred about 1770 or 1780 A.D., began changes from outside influences, which only ended when, in the year 1846, the ruler of Jummoo became tributary to the East India Company.

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At the time of Ranjit Dev the Sikhs had become rulers—not, indeed, in any organized form, but in separate clanships—of that portion of the Panjāb which adjoined the Jummoo territory on the south. The ardour of fighting was so strong in these Sikhs that all their neighbours were likely, in turn or as occasion might lead, to feel its effects. In the case of Jummoo the occasion arose soon after the death of Ranjit Dev.* The disputes for succession which have been so common in Oriental dynasties, and not least common when the question is of succession to a firm and able ruler, here also sprung up. George Forster (who, probably, was the first Englishman who ever set foot in Jummoo) tells us that of three sons of Ranjit Dev, one killed the intended successor and imprisoned the third, but that this one, escaping, made his way to the Sikhs, who took up the quarrel for an excuse for invading and laying waste the country. Mān Singh,† the head of one of the Sikh clans (whose son, Ranjit Singh, afterwards combined all the clans, and from them made a monarchy that lasted for a generation), plundered Jummoo, and from this time the old hill principality became dependent on the new sect that dominated the Panjab. These Sikhs, about the same period, but under, I think, different leaders, from different clans being concerned, penetrated into other portions of the Outer Hill region. For instance, Basoli was occupied by them some time before 1783, and, probably later, Rāmnagar also fell to them. In most cases some scion of the old reigning families was kept in as tributary ruler, for it would have been difficult for the Sikhs themselves, unused as they were to rugged ground, to govern directly the scattered inhabitants of such a rough hilly country. This arrangement again naturally brought about or gave opportunities for disturbances and revolts, which continually occurred. The unsettled state of the hills was a source of disquiet to Ranjit Singh, when, having got possession of Lāhor, he had become chief ruler of the Sikhs. In tracing

* I am not certain whether or no in Ranjit Dev's own time influence had been exerted by the Sikhs so as to bring Jummoo in any way tributary to them. At all events, it was not till after his death that active interference on their part occurred.

† This name is erroneously given in some English books as Maha Singh.

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out Ranjit Singh's efforts for the settlement of the hill districts, we come in contact with the family who exerted for so many years an important influence in the Lāhor state—an influence which much affected the English in their dealings with it—and between whom and the English Government the relations that were entered on constitute the foundation of the present political constitution of the territories we speak of.

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J. D. Cunningham, in his 'History of the Sikhs,'* shows that from a brother of Ranjit Dev, Raja of Jummoo, were descended, in the third generation, three brothers, Gulāb Singh, Dhiyān Singh, and Suchet Singh. These three were young men at the time when Ranjit Singh's rise to chief power at Lāhor made that the most likely place for the advancement of those whose only trade was fighting. The two elder brothers, Gulāb Singh and Dhiyān Singh, came to Ranjit Singh's court with the object of pushing their way as soldiers of fortune. Gulāb Singh first became a *sawār*, or trooper, under Jemadār Khushiāl Singh, a trusted servant of Ranjit Singh's. I do not know what was Dhiyān Singh's first step; but it was not long before he attracted the attention of the ruler, for he was a young man of considerable gifts of person as well as mental talents. He obtained the special favour of Ranjit Singh, and before long was advanced to the important post of deodhīwālā or deorhīwālā, that is to say, chief door-keeper. In a native court, a place of personal government, the door-keeper, possessing as he does the power of giving or restraining access to the chief, has considerable influence; this influence Dhiyān Singh now exerted in "making a party," so as by this means, as well as by his own exertions with the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, to advance his family. The personal qualifications of the brothers at the same time helped, and it was not long before the fortunes of all three—for Suchet Singh had joined his elder brothers—became well founded.

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Gulāb Singh rose to the independent command of a troop, and in one of the hill wars he distinguished himself by taking

* I have repeated in Appendix VI. the genealogy given by Cunningham.

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prisoner Āgā Jān, the Raja of Rājāorī, who was then resisting the Sikh forces. For this service, and with the object of utilizing those of the families of hill rajas who were attached to his government in keeping in subjection the tribes that had been giving trouble, Ranjīt Singh conferred on Gulāb Singh the rajaship of Jummoo, to be held as a fief. This was about the year 1820. On the brothers Dhiyān Singh and Suchet Singh was also bestowed the title of Raja, and they received, whether at this time or later I know not, a portion of territory to be held on the same terms as was Jummoo by Gulāb Singh. Dhiyān Singh received Pūnch as his principality, and Suchet Singh Rāmnagar.

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It is with Raja Gulāb Singh that we are now chiefly concerned. While Dhiyān Singh remained at Ranjīt Singh's court performing an important part in protecting the interests of the family by securing his own influence with the ruler, to whom they were all tributary, and on whom indeed they were still thoroughly dependent, Gulāb Singh spent most of his time at Jummoo and in its neighbourhood, occupied first in consolidating and then in extending his power, though, as occasion required, he would, as was his bounden duty, join the Sikh army with his forces, and take part in their military operations.

Gulāb Singh's own immediate subjects had, by the continuance of disturbances, the absence of settled rule, become somewhat lawless; robbery and murder were common; it is said that at that time a cap or a pagrī that a traveller might wear was enough for a temptation to plunder and violence. With a firm hand Gulāb Singh put this down, and brought his country to such a state of quiet and security as makes it at this moment in that respect a pattern. As to the feudal chiefs around him, he in some cases—for what particular causes or with what excuses it is difficult at this time to trace—confiscated their fiefs and became direct ruler; in other cases he retained and attached to his government the nobles, while gradually lessening their political importance. The tendency of his government was always towards centralization. He was a man of stronger character than most of

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the rulers that had preceded him, and probably his experience in the wider area of the Panjāb had taught him both the advantages and the feasibility of relatively diminishing the power of feudal subordinates.

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Gulāb Singh in later years came in contact with many Englishmen, and several of these have written their impressions of his character. I myself never saw him; he died before I came to Jummoo; but his doings and sayings were still much thought of there, and I endeavoured to form, from what I heard, an estimate of his character.

Of his powers as a soldier I was unable to form a clear judgment. He seems to have been thoroughly brave, but always careful and prudent. Though no great feats of arms are recorded of him,* yet he was generally successful. He was more ready to intrigue than to employ force; but when the necessity for fighting was clear, he proved almost as much at home in it as he was in diplomacy. A great part of his success was due to the wisdom he displayed in recognizing the times when each could with most advantage be brought into play.

As an administrator he was better than most of those of his own time and neighbourhood, but yet the results of his rule do not give one the highest impression of his powers in this respect. He knew how to govern a country in the sense of making his authority respected all through it. For the carrying out of the further objects of good government he probably cared little; his experience had shown him no instance of their attainment, and possibly he had not in his mind the idea of a government different in kind from that which he succeeded in administering; for of all the governments within reach of his observation those were good in which the authority of the ruler was assured by force and the revenue came in punctually. On this principle he consolidated his power.

One of his chief faults was an unscrupulousness as to the means

* The defence of the Lāhor fort with a small force against the Sikh army, in the time of the dissensions, is, however, a brilliant deed of his that now comes to my mind.

† i.e., the RAJAH OF Jammu – ANALYST

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One of his chief faults was an unscrupulousness as to the means of attaining his own objects; he did not draw back from the exercise of cruelty in the pursuit of them, but he was not wantonly cruel. An avariciousness always distinguished him; in the indulgence of the passion he was unable to take the wide view by which his subjects' wealth would be found compatible with the increase of his own.

Some qualities had Gulāb Singh which mitigated the effects of an administration worked on the principles above denoted. He was always accessible, and was patient and ready to listen to complaints. He was much given to looking into details, so that the smallest thing might be brought before him and have his consideration. With the customary offering of a rupee as *nazar* anyone could get his ear; even in a crowd one could catch his eye by holding up a rupee and crying out "*Mahārāj, 'arz hai!*" that is, "Mahārāja, a petition!" He would pounce down like a hawk on the money, and having appropriated it would patiently hear out the petitioner. Once a man after this fashion making a complaint, when the Mahārāja was taking the rupee, closed his hand on it and said, "No, first hear what I have to say." Even this did not go beyond Gulāb Singh's patience; he waited till the fellow had told his tale and opened his hand; then taking the money he gave orders about the case.

The rise from comparatively low station to high position did not spoil him; that is to say, he did not become stuck-up with pride, nor did he often stand greatly on his dignity; indeed, he was ordinarily familiar and free with all classes, and was distinguished by that quality which in a ruler otherwise respected goes so far to conciliate the natives of India, that which they call *bhalamānasī*, which may be translated "bonhomie." This is the more noteworthy as those faults he was free from are the ones most generally contracted by people of his caste who raise themselves in social rank.

This picture of Gulāb Singh's character is different from some accounts of him that have appeared in books that tell of the late history of the Panjāb. I have written from the impression I received from all I heard of him from servants or from subjects of

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his. To fortify my conclusions I will now quote from the 'History of the Sikhs,' by J. D. Cunningham, an author who wrote with rare impartiality, one who was able to divest himself of the prejudices of his own nation in estimating the qualities and the deeds of their enemies. Writing at the crisis of our relations with the Panjāb State, a time when Gulāb Singh's name was in everyone's mouth, he says,* "In the course of this history there has more than once been occasion to allude to the unscrupulous character of Raja Golab Singh; but it must not therefore be supposed that he is a man malevolently evil. He will, indeed, deceive an enemy and take his life without hesitation, and in the accumulation of money he will exercise many oppressions; but he must be judged with reference to the morality of his age and race and to the necessities of his position. If these allowances be made, Golab Singh will be found an able and moderate man, who does little in an idle or wanton spirit, and who is not without some traits both of good humour and generosity of temper."

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Having thus seen Gulāb Singh firmly fixed at Jummoo, we must, before tracing the acquisition by him of further territory, look to the early state of the other countries that now form part of the dominions under the government of Jummoo, beginning with Kashmir.

The Hindū history of Kashmir, which was brought into notice by Professor H. H. Wilson, tells of a succession of kings who ruled in the valley, and tells something of their relations with their neighbours. We cannot enter into these records, but of some of the events that have occurred in the last five centuries we will note the succession, since each change within that period has left its mark on the country recognizable by all at this day.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century after Christ the last Hindū king of Kashmir lost his throne. One Shāh Mīr, his minister, a Muhammadan, displaced him and ruled under the name of Shams-ud-dīn. For about two centuries and a half Kashmir remained independent, governed by its own Muhammadan rulers. Of these there were two most noted, whose names

* Cunningham's 'History of the Sikhs,' p. 332, note.

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are still in the people's mouths; one was Sikandar, surnamed Butshikan or Iconoclast, who came to the throne in 1396 A.D., and used his power to destroy the ancient Hindū temples; the other was Zain-ul-āb-ud-Dīn, also called Bar* Shāh, who distinguished himself by erecting buildings of beauty and utility in the city of Sirīnagar and in other parts of the country.

The next great change was the invasion of Kashmir by the Emperor Akbar. After some repulses and difficulties that potentate conquered the country. This was in the year 1588; from that time to now the Kashmīrīs have been ruled by aliens; since then three times at least have their masters been changed, but in no instance have they had any voice or influence in brinigng about the change. The Mughal rule (as the natives of India call that which was exercised by the Emperors who had their seat at Agra or at Delhi) lasted in Kashmir for something more than a century and a half. That country was governed by viceroys of the Emperors, who were called by the title Sūbadār, or, later, simply Sūba. It was also frequently visited by the Emperors themselves in the hot weather, and it was these journeys of the court that brought the name of Kashmir to the ears of the Westerns; it was this period when its fame in Europe arose; for the successive Emperors—Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān, and Aurangzeb—both constructed palaces and gardens whose position in the midst of lovely scenery and delicious air gave them a reputation beyond what their architecture alone could merit, and also filled these with a Court whose magnificence, drawn from the resources of half India, had never before and has never since been equalled in that mountain kingdom.

After the death of Aurangzeb the weak state of the Delhi power was reflected in the disturbed condition of Kashmir, which was ruled over by governors and governors' deputies appointed by those who one after the other gained the upper hand at Delhi.

The Kashmīrīs got fresh masters about the years 1752–1754, when Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, the invader of India, conquered Kashmir through one of his lieutenants. From that time for nearly

* In this name the r is cerebral.

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seventy years Kashmir was subject to the Pathāns or Afghāns, being ruled over by governors sent by the King of Kābul. The rule of these Pathāns was the harshest of all.

Again, as a new power arose in its neighbourhood, Kashmir received new masters. The Sikhs, as they grew in importance, and as their power waxed by reason of the political unity which Ranjīt Singh gave to the nation, became able to cope with the Pathāns and to vie with them for the possession of the prize country. Though Ranjīt Singh failed in an attempt on the valley in 1814, yet in 1819 he succeeded in wresting it from the Pathān rulers, and the small minority of the Kashmīrī nation who had remained Hindū saw at last, after an interval of 500 years, governors of their own faith. For the next five-and-twenty years Kashmir was ruled, quietly if oppressively, by successive governors sent by the Sikh Government at Lāhor. At the end of that time its history will join with the other threads of our narrative.*

We must now return to the proceedings of Raja Gulāb Singh, whom we left, soon after 1820, well settled at Jummoo.

The details of the extension of his power in the Outer Hills it

* As we draw near to our own times it may be useful to give more details of names and dates. I give here a Table of the Governors of Kashmir under the Sikhs; this will be useful to the traveller, for one is always hearing in that country that such-and-such a thing happened when so-and-so was Governor, and this Table will fix the date.

SIKH GOVERNORS OF KASHMIR.	A.D.
Conquest by the Sikhs	1819
Mōti Rām	1819
Hari Singh	1820
Mōti Rām (second time)	1822
Gurmukh Singh, with Chūna Lāl as *Peshkār* or Factotum	1823
Kirpā Rām, son of Mōti Rām	1825
Bamma Singh	1830
Sher Singh (son, reputed, of Ranjīt Singh)	1831
Jemādār Khushiāl Singh (in some degree under Sher Singh)	1832
Colonel Mīān Singh	1833
Shekh Ghulam Mahai-ud-dīn	1842
Shekh Imām-ud-dīn (son of Ghulām Mahai-ud-dīn)	1845

In 1846 the country fell into the hands of Raja Gulāb Singh, as will be related farther on.

I may here acknowledge the sources from which these and the other dates in Kashmir history are derived, namely, Wilson and Newall, in the publications of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Prinsep's Useful Tables.

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is not necessary to enter into. Roughly speaking, in the next ten or fifteen years all the Outer Hill region and a considerable portion of the Middle Mountains became, with the exception of Rājāorī, completely subject to either Gulāb Singh or his brothers; and the interests of these three were at that time one. His next ambitious attempt was on the country of Ladākh, which he had been led to think much of by his occupancy of Kishtwār, which commanded two of the roads into Ladākh. 175 642 631

The invasion of Ladākh Gulāb Singh did not in person lead; probably it was impossible for him to go to parts so distant from the Panjāb, where his presence was required more or less every year. His lieutenant for the expedition was Zurāwar Singh, of the caste of Rājpūts called Kaluriā, a man who had risen from the ranks in Gulāb Singh's service, and was distinguished by a zeal for his master's interest above his own, and who now proved that he had many of the qualities necessary to make a successful military leader.

Ladākh, the physical characters of which have already been lightly touched on, was at that time an independent Buddhist kingdom, having a spiritual and a slight political connection with the Grand Lāmā of Lhāsa. It was much isolated by its position at the back of the great Snowy Range; only a limited number of merchants who traded to it knew anything of the truth about it. Still the Dogrā leaders determined to attempt its conquest. The history of their invasion is well told by an actor in it in Cunningham's book on Ladākh. Here it is enough to say that after two campaigns the whole country of Ladākh became subject to Gulāb Singh.

The neighbouring Muhammadan principality of Skārdū shared the same fate a few years later. Ahmad Shāh, the Raja of that place, had mixed himself up with the Ladākhīs in their struggles and intrigues against the Dogrās, so on the first opportunity Zurāwar Singh turned his forces against him, and in the year 1840 took him prisoner and annexed his territory.*

* Though it is off the line of this narrative, yet it may be of some interest to mention that the courageous Zurāwar Singh, in invading the Lhāsa territories, was overtaken by winter, and, being attacked when his troops were disabled by cold, perished with nearly all his army. This was in November, 1841.

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175 642 631 In the year 1843 the death of Raja Suchet Singh without issue caused the principality of Rāmnagar to fall to his eldest brother Gulāb Singh; so by this time that fortunate ruler had acquired all the territories included in the present boundary, with the exceptions of Kashmir, Gilgit, Rājāori, and Pūnch, this last being occupied by Raja Jawāhir Singh, the son of Raja Dhiyān Singh, who, like Suchet Singh, had lately been killed near Lāhor.

175 642 631 648 557 The next event that changed the boundary was the breaking out of the war between the Sikhs and the British in the winter of 1845–6. Gulāb Singh had for some time kept aloof from Lāhor politics and was not involved in the court intrigues that led to the movement of the Sikh troops against British territory; neither did he hurry down with his troops to help the Sikhs as he would have done in the time of his old master Ranjīt Singh. He kept away until the decisive battle of Sobraon was fought, at which victory declared for the British. Then he appeared almost as mediator between the two contending powers, for after the various revolutions and massacres that had lately occurred at Lāhor, and the late defeats of the Sikh army, there seemed to be none but Gulāb Singh who could shape events, who could guide the Sikh nation to any sensible course. The confidence of the British too he had before acquired; especially had Sir Henry (then Colonel) Lawrence, who was now one of the diplomatic officers employed in the negotiations, formed both a friendship for Gulāb Singh and a high opinion of his sagacity and of his usefulness to those who could enlist his interests.

The result of all this is embodied in two treaties, which will be found, in whole or in part, in Appendix V.

By the first, which was made between the British Government as represented by Lord Hardinge, and the state of Lāhor, there was ceded to the East India Company in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of rupees (or 1,000,000*l.*) of indemnity, the hill countries between the rivers Byās and Indus. Thus all the countries we have been treating of, both those at that time in the hands of Raja Gulāb Singh, and Kashmir and others then directly ruled by the Sikhs, were on the 9th March, 1846, handed over to the British.

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But now comes the second treaty, dated 16th March, 1846. This was made between the British Government, represented by the Governor-General as before, and Maharaja Gulāb Singh, the higher title of Maharaja being by this very mention conferred. Its effect is this, that "the British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Golab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravee,"* in consideration of which, by another article of the treaty, Maharaja Gulāb Singh agrees to pay to the British Government the sum of 75 lakhs of rupees—about 750,000*l.*

The result of this treaty (of which the other provisions can be learnt from the Appendix) was to place Gulāb Singh in a far better position than he had ever had before. He exchanged for the Sikhs, whose attitude to him was ever varying according to the favour in which he might be held by those who for the time were leaders of them, a nation whose boast it is that they hold treaties sacred, and who had now contracted with him a treaty, the provisions of which fairly carried out could not fail to be agreeable to him. Lastly he gained, in addition to his former acquisitions, the coveted country of Kashmir.

The handing over of Kashmir was not effected without some trouble. Maharaja Gulāb Singh sent a trusted officer with some troops to take over charge; he, however, was opposed by Shekh Imām-ud-dīn, the Sikh governor, who was supported in, or rather incited to, this course by a faction in the Lāhor Darbār who were adverse to the British. Gulāb Singh's troops were defeated at the outskirts of Sirīnagar and many were slain; a remnant, however, threw themselves into the fort called Hari Parbat and there held out. On this Gulāb Singh appealed to the British to carry out the provisions of the treaty, and action was at once taken. A force partly of British and partly of Sikh troops was put in motion, and they had even made one march within the hills from Bhimbar, when events turned in such a way that their advance was no longer necessary.

* For some remarks as to the effect of these words see Chap. XIX.

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For at this juncture Colonel Lawrence reappeared, having been absent from the Panjāb for some months on leave, and his diplomatic management staved off the collision that was imminent. Colonel Lawrence entered into correspondence with Shekh Imām-ud-dīn, the result of which was that the Shekh gave up the game and came away from Kashmir in peace, meeting on the road, at Thanna, Colonel Lawrence and Gulāb Singh, who then proceeded to Sirīnagar. The transfer of the country was thus completed without further disturbance.

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One great object which the Governor-General had in view when he made this arrangement for the Jummoo and Kashmir territories was to lessen the force of the Sikhs by establishing on their flank a power independent of them and inclined to the British. This object may be said to have so far succeeded that, on the next and final trial of strength between the Sikhs and the British (which occurred two or three years later), Gulāb Singh's aid was withheld from the nation to which formerly belonged his allegiance. But the result of this last struggle, which was nothing less than the absorption of the Panjāb into the British Empire in India, rendered that object useless or superfluous. Hence some have been led to think that it was a great pity, a great mistake, to have made the treaty that separated Kashmir from the Panjāb, since, but for that, the oft-coveted country would have fallen into our hands at this time, namely in 1849. As far as this is a criticism of policy, and not merely regret at the loss of a possible piece of good fortune, it is enough to point out that in 1846 no one expected that the Panjāb would fall into our hands in 1849. At that former date we were arranging for the government of the Panjāb by its own native rulers—by the young Mahārāja Dhulcep Singh and the Darbār or Council of Ministers. Our Government was hoping to form a stable government at Lāhor, and not reckoning on its downfall or its absorption by ourselves. Not till two years after the treaty had been entered into with Gulāb Singh did those events, at that time unforeseen, occur which are brought forward as reasons for not entering into that engagement.

Later political events have not largely affected the status of

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

the territories, nor much altered their boundaries. On the outbreak of the mutiny of 1857, Maharaja Gulāb Singh chose his side and threw in his lot with the British, moving down a force to aid in the siege of Delhi. Hardly had he done this when death overtook him. His surviving son, the present Maharaja, Ranbīr Singh, who was then on his way to the Panjāb with the troops, returned to take his place in the government of the country, while another commander proceeded to Delhi with the force.

Since that time all has been quiet, except on the north-west frontier, which has been the scene of oft-recurring small wars, some of which are recounted in Chapter XIX., on Dārdistān History. One other treaty has been made between the British Government and the Maharaja, which is given in full in Appendix V. This was done in 1870. It is a commercial treaty designed to open a particular route between the British hill-districts and the Yārkand country through a portion of the Maharaja's territory, which is necessarily traversed.

The countries thus acquired, and, by the political events of 1846, solidly compacted, are divided up for the purposes of government into regions whose limits correspond in some measure, but not altogether, to the old boundaries. In the "Political Map" I have indicated these administrative subdivisions, and in the explanation of it in Chapter XXII. I have shortly described the kind of authority established in each.

I should hardly complete this Introduction without saying a word as to myself—as to how it was that I came to travel over this country, to penetrate into corners of it that, if they have each been visited by different Europeans, have never so many been seen by anyone of that race, or even, I believe, by any native of any of those countries.

In 1862 I entered the Maharaja of Kashmir's service, leaving for it the Geological Survey of Great Britain, to which I then belonged, and came to his Court at Jummoo. My duties for some years were confined to geological investigation, or, more exactly, to looking for minerals. This pursuit naturally led me over many of the

1s Drew G-8 (1863-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

IN FRONT OF THE COTTAGE IS A LEVEL

351 kept, where the people of the house spend nearly half their time,
356 and where their cooking places are arranged. The whole cottage is, as a rule, neatly kept and carefully swept; the higher castes, especially Brahmans and Rájpúts, give, considering their appliances, an admirable example in this respect.

361 The larger villages and the towns have a double row of shops,
[366] what is called a bazaar, each of which consists of much such a hut, with its floor raised two or three feet above the street, and with a wider doorway, and in front of it a verandah, where the customer may come and sit with the shopkeeper to transact business.

Of the towns in the Outer Hills there are none besides Jummoo of any great size, and there are only one or two others that can be said to be flourishing, for the poverty and the thinness of the population of the country round is against them. Since, however, some towns and some other places show features of interest, we will proceed to visit a few and note what has appeared worthy of observation.

EAST OF THE CHINÁB.

● 175 *Basoli* was the seat of one of the Rajahips between which
361 the low hills were divided before Jummoo swallowed up so many.
[642] A large building still remains that was the palace; it is now unkept and almost deserted. The town had already decayed
[166] but for the settlement in it of some busy Kashmíris, who by their trade of weaving bring some prosperity.

[136] Basoli is one of several places in the low hills, being at the edge of a wood that is seldom disturbed, where the red monkey abounds; the monkey, being respected by the Hindús and protected by the laws, has here come to be most bold, so he invades the town in great numbers, clambering over the palace walls and scampering across the chief open space of the town, and often enough doing mischief.

A day's march to the northward is *Baldwar*, which is the oldest seat of the rulers who afterwards went to Basoli. It is at the foot of a brushwood-covered spur of hill, and has beneath

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

it a bouldery river-bed a mile or more wide. There are remains of towers and walls that protected the place, some towards the jungle, some at the edge of the cliff that overhangs the stream-bed, and there is an old gateway at the top of the slope that gave access from below. These, as well as the Mahal, that is to say palace or mansion, the remains of which show it to have been substantially built though not large, were the work of the Balâwar Rajas. One other building there is that still has repute; this is an old Shivdwâra, or Hindû temple, much ornamented with carvings, in the sandstone that is the material for all the buildings. Of this temple one side has fallen, and the rest seems ready to follow, while the remnants scattered about of columns and other pieces of masonry show that the buildings were formerly more extensive; the space around the temple is now all shaded by large banyân trees. Balâwar, as at present inhabited, is no more than a village.

Padû is a place of name a few miles from Balâwar, of name because it also was the seat of a separate rule, whose Rajas were of one caste (a subdivision of the Râjpûts called Pâl) with those of Kulû, Bhadarwâh, and Balâwar, or Basoli; the four, being so allied, were often at war with each other. The last five Rajas of Padû, I hear, were—

Pur Napâl.	Avtâr Singh (in the time of Ranjît Singh of Lâhor).
Prithî Pâl.	Umed Singh.
Jy Singh.	

Râmkot is a place some miles west, where used to live a family of feudal power, whose lords were the Jummoo Rajas. Its original name was Mânkot, and the family of Mîâns who held it are called Mânkotiâ Mîâns. It is not long since the new name was given to the place. There is a large fort, which has been handed over to the Maharaja's new son-in-law for a dwelling-place.

Bhimnagar, some miles north of Râmkot, is where the Outer Hills join the Middle Mountains. It is built at a height of 2700 feet above the sea, on a small triangular plateau, which is cut

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off on two sides by ravines, and connected along the third with the slopes of the hills that surround and shut it in.

This town has signs of having at one time been among the most flourishing in these parts. It was the capital of the country called Bandrálta, which used to be governed by the Bandrál caste of Miáns. Their rule was displaced by that of the Sikhs under Ranjít Singh, who took the place and held it for a time, until, partly for the sake of rewarding a favourite, partly because of the trouble of holding it against the hill people, the Thakars, Ranjít Singh made Suchet Singh, the youngest of the Jummoo brothers, Raja of the place. Raja Suchet Singh held the place till his death. But I heard of a great effort made by the Thakars against him too, when some thousands came to assault it. The Dográs, however, held out in the fort, which is a well-planned work, until help came from the Sikh army.

There are some remains of the house of the rulers of the time of the Bandrál Miáns; but their descendants do not live here; they found a home and a pension in British territory.

175 361 [366]

The town of Rámnagar bears marks of the presence of Raja Suchet Singh. He took a pride in the place and improved it and encouraged the growth of it. The two long masonry-built bazaars were in his time full and busy; merchants from Amritsar and from Kábul were attracted to the place. Vigne, in 1839, remarked the great variety of races of people who were to be seen there; the bazaars were then being constructed. A large palace adorned with gardens, and the well-built barracks, show that Suchet Singh knew how to make himself and his people comfortable. On his death, which occurred about 1843, Rámnagar came under the rule of Jummoo, and there was no longer the presence of a Raja to keep up its prosperity, which was indeed short-lived; and now the palace is deserted, and the bazaars are but half inhabited. There are a good many Kashmírí settled in Rámnagar; some of them are occupied with shawl work, executing orders from Nurpúr and Amritsar, and some in making coarse woollen cloth.

Udampúr is a modern town, situated in the innermost dún

1: Drew- G-3 (1862-1872) 1878 AVI Kashmir AVI

before one comes to the Middle Mountains; it is on the upper plain of that dún, about 2400 feet above the sea. As a town it was founded by Mián Udam Singh, the eldest son of Maharaja Guláb Singh, who would, had he lived, have made it an important place; as it is, there is a good large bazaar, and the present Maharaja has begun building a new palace there, and has entered on the construction of a canal to bring water from the Tavi River on to the plateau, for household and garden purposes and for general irrigation.

The next town is *Kiramchi*, only 4 miles away. This and the tract of country near round it used to be under a Raja or a Mián of the Pathiál tribe of Rájpúts, who was tributary to Jummoo, paying to it yearly 2000 rupees and giving the services of some 10 horsemen. About the year 1834 Guláb Singh, having made up his mind to possess the place, refused the tribute and sent a force to besiege the fort; after some time they took it, and the country was annexed. What now remains of the fort is a well-built wall of sandstone and a dry tank; it is on a rocky mound in a commanding position behind the town.

Within a couple of marches from Jummoo, to the eastward, are three or four places worth seeing. One of these is *Babor*, in the Dansál dún, near the left bank of the Tavi; there are the ruins of three old Hindú temples, of what age I know not; the buildings were of great solidity and considerable beauty; the chief feature of one of them was a hall whose roof was held up by eight fluted columns supporting beams of stone 10 feet in length; on these beams were laid flatter stones chequerwise, so as to fill up the corners of the square as far as the centre of the beams, and so make a new square cornerways to the other; on this was laid another set of stones cornerwise to this, and so on till the whole space was covered; this square mass of stone was ornamented with carving. The material of these buildings is a slightly calcareous sandstone which is found among the strata near; it has well stood against weathering, and its toughness may be known from one of the beams of it used in the construction being as much as 14 feet in length. No mortar was used in the

1; Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

486 361 elevation of 9700 feet above the sea, it is indeed useful, and it is often well filled.

The remaining sarāes, and these are on the Kashmir side, are at Dubchi, at Hirpūr (a much ruined one, of good size), at Shāhjumarg, 6 miles beyond Shapeyan (as mentioned in Dr. Ince's 'Handbook to Kashmir,' I have not myself seen it), and lastly at Kahnpūr, 12 miles short of Sirīnagar.

The positions of the sarāes were well selected; they were well spaced; nearly every one of them was placed where to this day are the common halting-places for travellers.

Returning from this excursion on the line of the Kashmir road, we will just look at a few more places in the Outer Hills.

361 [346] At the village of *Samānī* is an old temple, much ruined, but still showing traces of fluted columns and trefoil arches; it is of much the same architecture as the temples of Babor. At the time it was built the people of these parts were doubtless still Hindū; perhaps, indeed, it dates from a time earlier than the beginning even of Muhammadanism.

Mirpūr is a good large town; it must be the next after Jummoo in size among those in the Outer Hills; it is on a plateau much cut into by ravines. The place is a flourishing one, from, I think, its [439] being a centre, or a place of agency, for an export trade in wheat that is carried on by the Jhelam River from these hills to the places in its lower course. Some spacious houses belonging to Khatrīs must have been built from the profits of this trade.

636 175 *Pūnch* is a place of more than common importance. It is the seat of Raja Motī Singh, who, under the Maharaja his cousin, holds a considerable tract of country in fief.

In the time of the Sikh rule in the Panjāb, when the Dogrā brothers divided among them the hill region, and held it tributary to the Sikhs, Pūnch was the share of Raja Dhiyān Singh. After his death, Jawāhir Singh, his son, held it; but his position was not recognized as independent of Jummoo in the treaties of 1846; hence he became a vassal of his uncle Maharaja Gulāb Singh. Later, some differences and disturbances occurred, which ended in Raja Jawāhir Singh having to leave the country, and Raja Motī

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712

Singh, his brother, succeeding him at Pūnch, now rules there in obedience to the Maharaja.

Pūnch is a compact town, with a good bazaar; it is situated at the meeting of two valleys, which make a wide opening among the hills; the valley itself being somewhat over 3000 feet above the sea, we are here in a part that may be reckoned to belong either to the Outer Hills or to the Middle Mountains. There are here a fort and palace, lately added to and improved with much taste by Raja Moti Singh.

A word or two as to the hill-forts of this region.

All over the low hills, on both sides of the Chínáb, they are in extraordinary number. They were built at the time when each little tract had its own ruler, and each ruler had to defend himself against his neighbour. These forts are commonly on the summit of some rocky hill, with naturally-scarped face; by their position, and by the way they were planned, they are well protected against escalade. Though now they have all come into the hands of one ruler, they are still kept up, that is so far that a small garrison—may be only of a dozen men—is kept in each. Some of the most known are Mangla, on the Jhelam; Mangal Dev, near Nanahahra; and Troch, near Kotli; these are each on the summit of a rocky precipitous hill most difficult of access.

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These characteristics, combined with the presence of numbers of Kashmīrī people who live in the town, have gained for it the name "Chotā Kashmīr," or Little Kashmir.*

More than half of the inhabitants of Bhadarwāh itself are Kashmīrī; these quite throw into the shade the original Hindū inhabitants; they have adopted almost all kinds of employment, numbers of them are shopkeepers, and numbers more are occupied in making shawls, on orders from Amritsar and Nurpūr. Some Kashmīrīs have land, and cultivate it themselves; some, indeed, do this for half the year, and follow shawl-weaving for the other half—during the long snowy winter. Around are several villages of Kashmīrīs; but here, outside the town, they are much outnumbered by the Bhadarwāhīs, the older inhabitants. I could not find out at what time so many Kashmīrīs settled here, but, from the absence of any distinct tradition on the subject, we may conclude that it was at least three or four generations ago.

An elevation of 5400 feet above the sea gives the place at this time of the year an agreeable temperature, that makes it a favourite with many. Sometimes Gurkhās from the British regiment at Bakloh, bringing their wives and families, spend their leave at Bhadarwāh, where they can get the advantages of fine air and cheap living.

On a spur, some 300 feet above the town, is the Fort, a square building of combined wood and stone, with bastions of masonry work. Near by are some remains of the former residence of the old Rajas. The Rajas of Bhadarwāh were Mīān Rājpūts; they were allied, as to caste, with the families that ruled over Basolī and Kulu. This old family was dispossessed about the year 1810 by the Chamba family, who thus combined Bhadarwāh and Chamba. These others held it for twenty or thirty years only, when, through two or three stages of transfer, it fell into the hands of Gulāb Singh, of Jummoo.†

* Another name (which the Hindūs sometimes give to it) is *Bhadarkāshī*, derived, I think, from the sacredness of a shrine there is on the river-bank opposite.

† One account shows Bhadarwāh to have passed from the Chamba family, by way of dowry for one of the daughters of that family, to Rajā Hīra Singh, nephew to Rajā Gulāb Singh. A short interregnum followed on Hīra Singh's violent death;

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

PAHARIS, OR DWELLERS ON THE MIDDLE MOUNTAINS.

101 Having thus tried to give some notion of what is a fair speci-
563 men of the Middle Mountains, I propose, before speaking of any more places in particular, to say something about the inhabitants.

These I shall call by the same name, "Pahāris," as is given them by their neighbours; for although, as explained in the introductory chapter, the word, meaning "mountaineer," is itself indefinite, yet it is restricted by the Dogrās to these particular races, and as there is no general name among the people themselves corresponding to what I want to express, I do not think we can do better than adopt it.

131 The Race Map shows the Pahāris to extend over the tract I have called the Middle Mountains only as far west as Budil, in the valley of the Ans; as to the part of that tract to the west and north-west, the people have already been described under the head of Chibhālis; the Muhammadanising of that country of Chibhāl preventing us from separating all the races that may have existed distinct in former times.

142 The space, then, coloured Pahārī on the Race Map is occupied
[563] by mountaineers who have remained Hindū. Over the whole of it the people have a general resemblance. They are a strong hardy race, of good powerful frame, but still active; they have a straight forehead, good brow, with a nose markedly hooked, especially among the older men. Among the people round Rāmban I noticed a special form of narrow nose, bent over with a peculiar curve.
[302] Their black hair is allowed to grow to their shoulders; their beard and mustache are thickish, but the beard does not grow long.

291 The men all dress in a light grey thick woollen cloth, which is made in almost every house.* In some parts they wear a short coat, in others a long and full one, hitched up by a kamarband, or waistband, of a woollen sort of rope, wound many times round. Their pyjamas are loose down to the knee, but below that fit

● 175 this was brought to a close by Gulāb Singh sending a small force to assert his right as head of the Jummoo family; his troops met with but little resistance, and the principality was annexed to Jummoo.

* Pattū (puttoo) is the name for this coarse homespun cloth over all the hills and in Kashmir.

4 [Cf category no, E.d Map - Analysis]

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

133 in and display the strange hues of their bodies through the shower. The cascade is in greatest force in the spring, on the melting of the snows above, and it was thus I saw it; from that time it diminishes, but it is again increased when heavy rain falls in the rainy season, that is, the late summer; in winter it is least.

361 The small town of Kishtwār is dirty and dilapidated. There [366] are about 200 houses, including a bazaar with some shops; but there was a complete absence of life, of the busy cheerfulness one sees in some bazaars. The people seem to have been brought to a low stage of poverty from having in former years been given over to the Wazīr family, which still holds much influence here. Two large houses, built after the fashion of the houses of the richer people in Kashmir, which belong to that family, are exceptions to the general state of decay. [712] There is an old fort, on a little rising ground, oblong, with corner towers and other projecting buildings: it is manned by some thirty men.

563 The inhabitants are more than half Kashmīrī; the rest are [564] Hindūs of the Thakar, Krār, and and other castes. The Kashmīrīs here, too, carry on their shawl work; there are some twenty workshops for it in the town. In this place, as in Bhadarwāh, they seem to have settled for some generations.

132 The climate of Kishtwār is something like that of Bhadarwāh, but it is somewhat warmer, and must have a less fall of rain and snow. Snow falls during four months, but it does not continually stay on the ground; it may do so for twenty days at a time. On the slope towards the river, 1000 or 1500 feet below, it stays but a day. The fruits produced are apple, quince, three kinds of pear, plum, a few apricots, cherry, peach, grape, mulberry, and walnut.

KISHTWAR HISTORY.

175 Kishtwār was governed by Rājpūt Rajas, who in early times probably ruled independent of all others.

The first whose name I can hear of is Raja *Bhagwān Singh*, who must have lived 200 years or more ago, as he was seven generations back from the one who was ruler fifty years ago.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AVI

The name of Raja Bhagwān Singh was preserved from the oblivion that has overtaken his ancestors solely by his having had the hardihood to make war on the King of Delhi of the time. It was in the direction of Kashmir—then ruled from Delhi—that occurred the collision between these two powers so disproportioned in force. Tradition says that there was some fighting, but that the Raja ultimately submitted,* and then the King of Delhi kindly bestowed two Wazīrs upon him, to advise him, to see that he committed no such errors as the last. The names of these two were Jīūn Pāl and Kahn Pāl; they were Khatrīs of Delhi. It is a curious thing that descendants of these men to this day are in Kishtwār; I made acquaintance with some of them. The position of these two Wazīrs must have been just like that of a British Resident at a Native Court in India now; but in that their office became hereditary, and that their families for generations supplied advisers to the ruler, the parallel does not hold.

After Bhagwān Singh, came in regular descent Raja *Mahā* Singh (or perhaps Mān Singh) and Raja *Jy Singh*, of whom nothing is recorded.

Then came (I am told he was son to the last named) Raja *Gīrat Singh*. This one left his old faith and became a Muhammadan, being converted by the miracles of one Syed Shāh Farīd-ud-Dīn. Gīrat Singh was called also a disciple of the Emperor Aurangzeb, who gave him the new name and title of Raja Sa'ādat Yār Khān.

This conversion seems to have been followed by that of a certain number, but by no means a majority, of the Kishtwār people. Of Muhammadanised Kishtwārīs, as distinguished from Kashmīrīs who, being Muhammadans, came in and settled, there are some both in the town and in the villages. No doubt many of the servants of the Raja turned Muhammadan with him. We must remember that at that time the faith had the prestige of

* One march on the road from Kishtwār to Kashmir is a place called Mughal Maidān, or, by the Kashmīrī, Mughal Mizār; Maidān means *plain*, Mizār means *burying-place*. People say that here some two hundred Mughal soldiers, that is, soldiers of the Delhi King, were cut up by the Kishtwār Raja's forces; it is probable that this happened on the very occasion spoken of in the text.

Ls Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

being the one held by the rulers of India. I have met people, Muhammadans, descended from the *farāsh*, or carpet-layers of the Raja, who were converted with him.

After this first Muhammadan Raja (whose change of religion determined the faith of all succeeding Rajas) came Raja *Amlāk Singh*, who received from the King of Delhi the style of Raja *Sa'adatmand Khān*. Then came Raja *Mihr Singh*, who received from the same source the title of Raja *Sa'idmand Khān*. Next came Raja *Sujhān Singh*; then Raja *'Ināyat Ulla Singh*; lastly, Raja *Muhammad Teg Singh*, also called *Saif Ulla Khān*. It is curious to see how the Rajas kept to their old title of *Singh*, in spite of having received from the emperors the Muhammadan one of *Khān*.

Raja Teg Singh was the last independent Kishtwārī ruler. Down to his time the descendants of the two Wazīrs sent from Delhi were serving the family (they, by-the-bye, had not become Muhammadans); but Raja Teg Singh made his chief adviser, and gave the title of Wazīr to, one Lakpat, a Thakar, who till then had been a small landholder. This man came to have a quarrel with his master, and I have heard something about the Raja drawing on him and wounding him. At all events, Wazīr Lakpat fled from Kishtwār and came to Raja Gulāb Singh, at Jummoo, and put him up to annexing Kishtwār, showing how easily it could be done. Gulāb Singh brought a force to Doda, and there was met by the Raja, who, without fighting, gave himself up. He went to Lāhor, to Ranjīt Singh's Court. Teg Singh had two sons, Jomal Singh and Zorāwar Singh. Cunningham says that the representative of the family (whether one of these two or a further descendant I do not know) was converted to Christianity by an American missionary at Ludhiāna.

Kishtwār has ever since belonged to Jummoo. Wazīr Lakpat held high office under Raja Gulāb Singh, and did him good service: he was killed at Munshī Bagh, close to Sirīnagar, in the fight between Gulāb Singh's troops and Shekh Imām-ud-din's, in the year 1846. His son was Wazīr Zorāwar, who was a confidential minister of the Maharaja's when I came to Jummoo;

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he died while I was there. The family still have in some way power, and I think hold land, in Kishtwár.

It has been said above that the descendants of the two Wazírs from Delhi for long remained in power in Kishtwár. They were, in fact, hereditary ministers. They so far left the rules of their caste—induced to do so, no doubt, by their isolated position away from all their caste-fellows—as to intermarry with the Thakars. When I was in Kishtwár an old gentleman of that family, Wazír Khoja Bhoncha, a man then over eighty, a man who had travelled, who had seen Multán and Pesháwar, told me of some of the events written above, and of others in which he had been an on-looker, and even an actor. Some of these are connected, distantly perhaps, with the late history of our own country. He told me about Sháh Shuja'-ul-Mulk, the refugee King of Kábul, the supporting of whom afterwards brought so much trouble to the British nation; how one day, on Bysákhí, the festival held on the first of the month of Bysákh, Sháh Shuja, got free from the toils that Ranjít Singh of Láhor was holding him in, and made his way through the mountains, all strange to him, through, necessarily, tracts held by Hindú rulers, whose protection, as they were more or less under the influence of the Sikh power, he could not rely on, to Kishtwár, to the one Hill Raja of those parts who was of his own faith. The Raja of Kishtwár entertained him well, and supplied his wants for two years. This Wazír Khoja Bhoncha was appointed to attend him as *mihmándár*, or guest-keeper. The Wazír spoke with great admiration of Sháh Shuja', as a fine man, and a man of real kingly disposition and presence. After staying quietly in Kishtwár for two years, the dethroned king became impatient, and he formed the wild scheme of attacking Kashmir. The traveller Vigne says that, Azim Khán being then the Afghán Governor of Kashmir, Sháh Shuja' entered it by the Mírbal Pass with three or four thousand men. He was defeated, and was obliged to return to Kishtwár. Ranjít Singh, who himself was making attempts on Kashmir, was not going to let Sháh Shuja' carry on such projects, and he would not have him remain in Kishtwár.

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175 He sent word to the Raja to forward the refugee to him as a prisoner. This the host declined to do, but it became necessary for Shāh Shuja' to leave his protector for fear he should bring about his ruin. The advance on Kashmir probably was in 1815; the retirement from Kishtwār in 1816. Crossing the snowy range to Zānskār, and marching along at the back of it, Shāh Shuja' came over into Kulū, and made his way down to Ludhiāna, the British frontier post. From the time he reached that place till his death his strange fortunes make part of British history.

KISHTWAR TO PADAR.

133 We will now trace the Chīnāb still farther up, into the district which bears the name of Pādar. In doing this we shall get among mountains of a different character from those hitherto described, too lofty to be classed as "Middle Mountains;" but it will be more convenient to follow the river into this higher part of its valley now than to break off on account of its not strictly coming under the heading of this chapter.

It has been said that this Chīnāb river flows in a deep hollow many hundred feet below the Kishtwār plateau. A road from Kishtwār to Kashmir crosses the river just above the junction of the Wardwan stream, which flows in from the north. The level of the junction I made to be about 3600 feet. Above the junction, for some hundred yards, the Chīnāb comes through a narrow channel in the rock, only 60 feet wide, flowing smoothly and
491 slowly, with doubtless a great depth of water. The rise and fall between winter and summer is about 30 feet. It is here bridged in a way that is often adopted among these high mountains for the larger rivers. There is a suspension bridge of simple construction. First of all, a dozen or more ropes, more than long enough to span the river, are made of twisted twigs, commonly of the birch, but other trees or shrubs are used as well; each of these ropes, rough, with the cut ends of the twigs projecting, is about of that thickness that it can just be spanned with the finger and thumb. These are collected into three groups, each group of four or more ropes loosely twisted together; one of these cables is

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

564 an entire village of these near the fort. There are a few Mu-
101 hammadans who probably are converted Thakars. The Thakars have just those characteristics by which we described the Pahāris generally.

563 Besides the Hindūs and Muhammadans, there are two or three
166 hamlets towards the head of Bhutnā, eleven houses in all, inhabited by Bhots or Buddhists from Zānskār, on the farther side of the great range. I here only mention their occurrence; the characters of that Tibetan race they belong to will be given farther on, under the heading of Ladākh.

771 The people of Pādar seem a good deal given to serpent worship; they do not, however, separate it from their observance of the rites of the Hindū religion; the serpent is reckoned among the many devtas or gods recognised by that faith; one sees temples raised to different *nāg-devtas*, or serpent-gods, which are adorned with wood-carvings of snakes in many forms.*

• 175 The earliest state of Pādar that I can hear of is in a period
564 that ended more than two hundred years ago; then the chief
643 men, or the rulers, or the ruling caste, were Rānās. Rānā is an old Hindū word for a ruler who (in these parts, at all events) is less in power than a Raja. The Rānās of Pādar were Rājpūts; every village or every two or three villages had its Rānā, an independent ruler, who used to make war against his neighbour the next-door Rānā. The district of Pāngi was, I believe, in the same
[241] state. There are descendants of these Rānās in Pādar to this
[582] day; they have taken to cultivation and till the bit of land that has been preserved to them; but they still keep their caste distinct; they will marry the daughters of Thakars, but will not give theirs to them in marriage.†

175 That state of things, so pleasant for the Rānās, was broken in upon by Raja Chatar Singh, of Chamba, who was eight generations back from Raja Srī Singh, who was ruler in 1869; the time

* One of these temples is where there comes out a hot spring of considerable volume which has a temperature of 131°; bubbles of sulphuretted hydrogen escape from it. Here a bathing-place has been built, and a dharmsāla or resting-place for faqirs.

† Rānās are met with also in Bhadarwāh.

1s Draw G-3 (1869-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

of the change may therefore have been about 1650 A.D. Chatar Singh first conquered Pāngī; from there he advanced with some 200 men to Pādar, and, annexing it, founded the fort and town named after him Chatargarh, whose ruins or traces are still to be seen opposite to Atholī.

The place flourished well; forty years ago it had 140 houses —a large collection for this thinly-peopled country—nearly all enclosed within the four walls of the square fort. Water was brought to it from a ravine at some distance, being led across the plain in a wooden trough raised on a stone bank. I am told that on the founding of this town most of the followers of Chatar Singh settled there and formed the mass of the male population. Those who settled, whatever their caste—Brahman, Rājpūt, or what—intermarried with the inhabitants and became practically Thakars. One of my informants told me that he himself was descended from a Brahman who was of that immigration, but now he could call himself nothing but a Thakar.

From Chatar Singh's time onwards Pādar remained comfortably under the Rajas of Chamba for five or six generations.

A late episode of that time I was told of by the Pādar people, and incline in the main to believe, though I have not verified the story. They say that about the year 1820 or 1825 A.D., they made up an expedition against Zānskār, and brought that country (which was held by a Bhot Raja, under Ladākh) to be so far tributary that every year 1000 rupees, besides musk-bags and other things, were sent by the ruler of Zānskār as nazar to the Chamba Raja. A strange feature of this business was that it was carried through by one Ratanū, a Thakar, a small landowner of Pādar, and not by orders from Chamba.

The event that led to the next change in Pādar was the invasion of Ladākh by the Jummoo troops under Zurāwar Singh Kalūrīā,* a leader in the service of Maharaja Gulāb Singh, in 1834. Of this invasion an interesting account is given by Cunningham from an actor in it. At the end of the first year of the war in

* Kalūrīā is the name of the tribe of Rājpūts (located near Simla), to which this bold leader belonged.

† Be present to A superior — Analysis]

1; Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

175 642 631 Ladākh, Zurāwar Singh sent Wazīr Lakpat (whose early career we have traced from Kishtwār) from Zānskār to Pādar, in order to open a new road from Jummoo to Ladākh.

Cunningham's account says there was some little fighting. Lakpat passed on, leaving only a thānadār[1] and a few men in Pādar, having done no harm to the place. After Lakpat had left, the enterprising Ratanū above mentioned stirred up the people, who seized the Dogrās and sent them prisoners to Chamba.

The Raja of Chamba disavowed the act to Gulāb Singh, and, releasing the prisoners, sent them to Jummoo. But this did not avert the consequences. On the opening of the season Zurāwar Singh himself came with a force (Cunningham's informant says 3000 men), but he was unable to get at Chatargarh, for the bridges across the Chīnāb had been destroyed. He was thus kept at bay for two months; during this time he had established a battery on the edge of the plateau, on the left bank, where it overlooks Chatargarh.

At last, with the help of some peasants, the Dogrās got a rope across a few miles lower down, and crossing over by means of this, they came up the right bank of the Chīnāb; then, getting across the Bhutnā River by a bridge that had not been destroyed, they advanced on Chatargarh, took it by storm, and set fire to and completely destroyed the town, so that nothing but heaps of stones were left. Zurāwar Singh hanged several people, and mutilated several. By these measures and by the building of the present fort, the Jummoo rule became firmly established in Pādar, which has remained quiet ever since; it is now under the Tahsīldār of Bhadarwāh.

175 I must not omit to tell of the end of Ratanū, the patriot. He was sent prisoner to Jummoo, and there kept in confinement for three or four years; then he was released, and received for his maintenance a small jāgīr, or land-grant, in the Kishtwār country, which his sons still hold. Once after this he offended Gulāb Singh. On the death of the Raja of Chamba of that time he shaved his beard; it is the custom, as we have seen at Jummoo, for Hindūs to do this on the loss of their sovereign, and,

[1] [i.e., police OFFICER in charge of a station--ANALYST]

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

so far as it went, it was a sign of disobedience against, a disavowal of, the authority of Maharaja Gulāb Singh. That ruler had Ratanū brought to him at Jummoo, but then forgave him.

BHUTNÁ.

We have seen that Pādar includes the valley called Bhutnā, which leads down from the great snowy range till it joins the Chināb Valley. From Pādar a road goes up Bhutnā and crosses to Zānskār by the high, snowy, and difficult Pass named Umāsi Lā by the Zānskār people, and Bardhār by the Pādar people and the Dogrās. I passed from Pādar over this Pass to Ladākh, but I do not propose to tell of the journey, only to take the reader up the Bhutnā Valley to see what there is of interest on this side of the snowy range.

Crossing both the Chināb and its tributary, we went along the right bank of the latter by a fair path, sometimes 200 or 300 feet above the stream, and sometimes at the level of it. We passed patches of cultivation on both sides, and several hamlets of a few houses each; some of the villages had walnut-trees flourishing, but their fruit does not here ripen well. At one part we went through an oak wood, which grew on both hill-sides. Deodar had been growing, chiefly on the left bank above the oak, and farther up the valley it had reached down to the river, but it had all been felled for timber.

These hill-sides which we passed along, as is commonly the case in the narrow Himalayan valleys, were the extremities of spurs from greater ridges; they themselves showed us a face of some thousand feet, but they were connected with much more lofty mountains, mountains of perpetual snow, 18,000 to 20,000 feet high, which are only sometimes caught sight of through the dividing side-ravines.

Above Kundhol we see instances of a fall of rock having dammed the river. Going upwards, we first find the water coming over the talus or fan-material (the cause of the damming) in a cataract, while immediately above the valley opens, and the waters spread out almost wide enough for them to be called a lake.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir AV1

the Delhi Emperors, though having their road to Kashmir through this part, still left the country in the hands of the native Rajas, who were bound to do all they could to facilitate the royal journeys and the transmission of the loads of fruit from Kashmir to the Delhi Court. The Bhimbar Raja held his country on the same terms.

The Rajas of Rājāorī were Muhammadanised Rājpūts. The early ones were of the tribe of Rājpūts called *Pāl*, that caste to which belonged the Hindū Rajas of Balāwar and other places on the east of Jummoo. The Muhammadan Pāl of Rājāorī were succeeded by Rajas (also Muhammadans) who belonged to the *Jarāl* tribe of Rājpūts; this was seven or eight generations back; these rulers also have passed away, but there are in the neighbourhood both Hindūs and Muhammadans of those two castes.

The Rājāorī rule extended north and south 20 or 25 miles, and about 30 miles from east to west; its northern boundary was the Ratan Ridge; to the south the country of the Bhimbar Raja bounded it. The revenue I am told was only 16,000 rupees; but for all that the money-income of the country was so small the Rajas have left some marks of their rule; there is what was once a large fine house, their residence, in the town of Rājāorī; of part of this the roof is fallen, but the river front is preserved and is used for offices. Near it is the mosque they worshipped in; this also is gone from its first use, and is now made use of as an occasional resting-place for European travellers, when, from the swelling of the river, they cannot get across to the bāradarī in the garden on the left bank. Higher up is the Rajas' burial-place; here one tomb was pointed out to me as Raja Āgā Jān's. Āgā Jān was ruler when the Sikhs took the country; they imprisoned him and put his younger brother on the throne, who sat on it till he was obliged to hand it over to Maharaja Gulāb Singh. When, as explained in Chapter I., all of these territories that had not before been acquired by Gulāb Singh were transferred to him by the Treaty of 1846, there came an end to the Rājāorī rule; the Raja ultimately submitted without resistance, and was pensioned. He is now dead, but his son still receives

1: Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir AVI

175 631 something through the British Government, which he enjoys at Wazīrābād.

177 361 [346] Rājāorī has one conspicuous building raised by its last, the present, rulers. A large temple, elevated on a rock by the river, shows to all that Hindū power has again spread thus far west. As another sign of this, the Dogrās have changed the name of the place to *Rāmpūr*, thus designating it after one of their gods; this new name has displaced the old in official dealings, but not in the mouths of the commonalty.

RAJAORI TO SIRINAGAR: EIGHT MARCHES.

133* 487 We have hitherto in our journey been among the Outer, the Lower, Hills; in these next marches we shall get over the higher ranges of mountains, those that are the great barriers of Kashmir. The first two days' march from Rājāorī will take us northward over the Ratan Ridge by a pass that is called the Ratan Pīr; the next four will lead us eastward through the main Panjāl Range (of which the other was a branch) by the pass called the Pīr Panjāl, and will bring us down to the level and out into the wide opening of the vale of Kashmir; the last two are wholly within that valley.

The following is a list of the eight marches, still numbering from Jummoo:

	Miles.		Miles.
7. Rājāori to Thanna	14	11. Allābād to Hīrpūr	14
8. Thanna to Daramgalla ..	10	12. Hīrpūr to Shapeyan	6
9. Daramgalla to Poshiāna ..	10	13. Shapeyan to Kahnpūr ..	15
10. Poshiāna to Allābād Sarā ..	11	14. Kahnpūr to Sirīnagar ..	12

[311] In the first march, from Rājāorī to Thanna, we keep for 14 miles in the same not wide valley, following up this western Tavī stream, rising by a gradual incline. The ground of the valley is all terraced and made into rice-fields, which at this time are flooded with water led from the stream in preparation for the sowing, which will be done a week or two later. The valley is closely bounded by spurs of hills, which change their look as we near the end of the march, for we then get among a higher class

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1

that river bank, at Tattapani to be exact, hot sulphur springs with valuable medicinal properties are found.

According to the 1941 census, about nine-tenths of the population were of the Muslim faith. The Raja who was a Hindu, was subject to the Maharaja of Kashmir. The unwalled, oblong-shaped capital of the State is also called Poonch—in some books it is still spelt Punch, but the pronunciation is Poonch. The population is under ten thousand. The valley in which this city has been built opens up as one approaches it and is rather like a miniature Valley of Kashmir. The view is clear for miles ahead, with Poonch built on a low plateau overlooking the river which flows quietly, parallel with the hill ridges. The old fort-palace with its massive walls, seems to rise from among the hundreds of houses in the bazaar of narrow, stone-paved streets. The Raja's white-walled and red-roofed new palace is built behind them all and dominates the whole, with a background of green hills and far-distant snow peaks behind which sits Gulmarg.

The Muslim schoolboys of Poonch always remember two landmarks in the history of their city. The first is 1814, when Ranjit Singh made his attack on Kashmir through Poonch; he sought the co-operation of Ullah Khan, the then Raja of Poonch, but this ruler being a Muslim had Afghan sympathies, and gave an evasive reply to the request, pleading his inability to comply with the Maharaja's wishes since his son was then a hostage in the hands of the Duranis. Ranjit Singh's forces advanced with the Maharaja at their head; the small forces of Poonch fell back, the Raja ordering his subjects to leave the town and villages, thus cutting off supplies from the Sikhs, who however, reached Tosa Maidan in their advance. There they suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Afghan forces of Rajouri and Poonch. Retreating, the Sikh army burnt the fair city of Poonch to the ground.

Later, when Poonch was still an independent hill State, it was annexed by the Maharaja Gulab Singh, when he defeated the combined forces of the Afghan Governor of Kashmir and the Raja of Poonch. Then, in order to show the people of his new State that the last of the representatives of the main line of rulers would never be able to return, he had both of them

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1

brought out, their heads cut off and enclosed in an iron cage which was exposed in the city for all to see. So, in 1819, died Sher Jangh Khan, the last of the Muslim rulers, together with his nephew Shams Khan, and Raja Dhyan Singh, a Dogra and a Hindu, became the ruler.

Their hatred is not so much against the first Dogra ruler of Poonch as of his brother, the Maharaja Gulab Singh, who was paramount to him, and they tell how in 1835 when "some of the men of Poonch dared a small revolt against him, he came down in person and suppressed it, and then had certain of the prisoners flayed alive before him. And when the executioner hesitated before he did this awful thing, the Maharaja accused him of being chicken-hearted and asked him if he had been asked to perform upon his father or brother."

After reminding you that Didda, the most powerful Queen ever to rule over Kashmir, was a Princess of the House of Poonch, the schoolboys, having by this time completely forgotten their feelings against the Hindus and Sikhs go on with, "And you must of course be knowing that but for the interference of the Viceroy Lord Reading there would now be a Poonch Maharaja, because the priest-ridden old Maharaja Pratab Singh would have selected as his heir his adopted son Rajkumar Jagat Dev Singh, who was only fourteen years when he took him, who was second son of Sir Baldiv Singh the Raja of Poonch, who was second cousin to Pratab Singh and great-grandson of Gulab Singh's brother Dhyan Singh". This rumour arose after a rather unsavoury blackmail case in London in which Raja Hari Singh, the Maharaja's nephew and closest relation, was involved as the victim. Then further to prove the case for Poonch, they go on, "Even at the funeral of the Maharaja Pratab Singh it was Jagat Dev Singh who performed the obsequies required of a son and heir". Jagat Dev Singh died in 1940.

It was rather surprising to find how well kept the city was, boasting electric light, telephones and water channelled from nearby streams, all in the midst of comparative nothingness; the quite excellent roads which intersect it frequently running for five or six miles outside, the gardens gay with flowers. Still more pleasant to discover is the most excellent rest house

erable importance for cultivation in the valley. From June November heavy rain falls on the Pīr Panjāl range, and in 132
mmu chiefly in the months of July, August, and September.
e rainfall at Jammu and Pūnch is comparable with that of
subcontane Districts of the Punjab. It is more moderate
mount in the valley, which receives a total of 9·4 inches,
compared with 35·7 inches at Pūnch and 26·8 inches at
mel. The precipitation is very light to the east of the first
of the snows bordering the valley on the east, and is about
nches in total amount at Gilgit, Skārdu, Kargil, and Leh.
s the south-west monsoon is the predominant feature
ammu and Kishtwār, while in Ladākh, Gilgit, and the
er ranges the cold-season precipitation is more important.
tables on p. 82 show the average temperature and
all at Srīnagar and Leh for a series of years ending with
. 731

rthquakes are not uncommon, and eleven accompanied Earthquakes and floods. 183
ss of life have been recorded since the fifteenth century.
885 shocks were felt from the end of May till the middle
ugust, and about 3,500 people were killed. Fissures
ed in the earth, and landslips occurred. Floods are also
ently mentioned in the histories of the country, the
est following the obstruction of the Jhelum by the fall of
untain in A.D. 879. The great flood of 1841 in the Indus
d much loss of life and damage to property. In 1893
serious floods took place in the Jhelum owing to continuous
for 52 hours, and much damage was done to Srīnagar.
undation of a yet more serious character occurred in
. 175

e early history of Kashmīr has been preserved in the History. Sources.
rated *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, by the poet Kalhaṇa, who began to
in 1148. He gives a connected account of the history
e valley, which may be accepted as a trustworthy record
the middle of the ninth century onwards. Kalhaṇa's
was continued by Jonarāja, who brought the history
gh the troubled times of the last Hindu dynasties, and
rst Muhammadan rulers, to the time of the great Zain-ul-
n, who ascended the throne in 1420. Another Sanskrit
icler, Srīvara, carries on the narrative to the accession of
Shāh in 1486; and the last of the chronicles, the
ulīyataka, brings the record down to 1586, when the
was conquered by Akbar. 173

e current legend in Kashmīr relates that the valley was Legends.
covered by the waters of a mighty lake, on which the

173

goddess Párvatí sailed in a pleasure-boat from Harímukh mountain in the north to the Konsanág lake in the south. In her honour the lake was known as the Sattsar, or 'lake of the virtuous woman.' The country-side was harassed by a demon popularly known as Jaldeo, a corruption of Jalodbhava. Kásyapa, the grandson of Brahmá, came to the rescue, but for some time the amphibious demon eluded him, hiding under the water. Vishnu then intervened and struck the mountains at Báramúla with his trident. The waters of the lake rushed out, but the demon took refuge in the low ground near where Srínagar now stands, and baffled pursuit. Then Párvatí cast a mountain on him, and so destroyed the wicked Jaldeo. The mountain is known as Hara Parbat, and from ancient times the goddess has been worshipped on its slopes. When the demons had been routed, men visited the valley in the summer; and as the climate became milder they remained for the winter. Little kingdoms sprang up and the little kings quarrelled among themselves, with the usual result that a bigger king was called in to rule the country.

Early rulers.

175

The *Rájataranginí* opens with the name of the glorious king of Kashmír, Gonanda, 'worshipped by the region which Kailása lights up, and which the tossing Gangá clothes with a soft garment.' Nothing is known of the founder of the dynasty, though the genealogists of Jammu trace a direct descent from Gonanda to the present ruler. Mention is made of the pious Asoka and of his town, Srínagar, with its ninety-six lakhs of houses resplendent with wealth. This town probably stood in the neighbourhood of the Takht-i-Sulaimán. Next come the three kings, Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, to be identified with the Huvishka, Vásudeva, and Kanishka, Kushan rulers of Northern India at the beginning of the Christian era. According to the chronicles, in the days of these kings Kashmír was in the possession of the Buddhists, and Buddhist tradition asserts that the third great council held by Kanishka took place in Kashmír. The Buddhist creed and the Brâhmanical cult seem to have existed peaceably side by side; but five hundred years later Hiuen Tsiang found the mass of the people Hindu, and the monasteries few and partly deserted. There is good reason to believe that the Kashmíris were, from the earliest period, chiefly Saivas.

[177]

White Huns.

About A.D. 528, Mihirakula, the king 'cruel as death,' ruled over Kashmír. He was the leader of the White Huns or Ephthalites. The people still point to a ridge on the Pír

anjāl range, Hastivanj, where the king, to amuse himself, rove one hundred elephants over the precipice, enjoying heir cries of agony. King Gopāditya was a pleasing contrast o the cruel king, and did much to raise the Brāhmans, and to dvance their interests.

Pravarasena II reigned in the sixth century and, returning om his victorious campaigns abroad, built a magnificent city n the site of the present capital of Kashmīr. The city was nown as Pravarapura, and is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang at he time of his visit (A.D. 631) as the new city. The site hosen has many advantages, strategic and commercial, but it liable to floods. Many subsequent rulers endeavoured to ove the site of the capital, but their efforts failed. Among ese was the celebrated Lalitāditya, who ruled in the middle f the eighth century, and received an investiture from the mperor of China. A great and victorious soldier, he subdued e kings of India and invaded Central Asia. After twelve ars of successful campaigning he returned to Kashmīr, riched with spoil and accompanied by artisans from various ountries, and built a magnificent city, Paraspur (Parihasapura). o give this new town pre-eminence, he burnt down Pravara- ura. Lalitāditya also built the splendid temple of Mārtand. efore leaving for further conquests in Central Asia, from hich he never returned, the king gave his subjects some xcellent advice. He warns them against internal feuds, and ys that if the forts are kept in repair and provisioned they eed fear no foe. In a country shut in by mountains, iscipline must be strict, and the cultivators must not be left ith grain more than sufficient for a year's requirements. ultivators should not be allowed to have more ploughs or attle than are absolutely necessary, or they will trespass on heir neighbours' fields. They should be repressed, and their tyle of living must be lower than that of the city people, or he latter will suffer. These words spoken some 1,200 years go have never been forgotten; and rulers of various races nd religions have followed Lalitāditya's policy, and have ternly subordinated the interests of the cultivators to the omfort of the city.

Hindu dynasties.

Sankara Varman (883-902) was another great conqueror; ed it is stated that, though Kashmīr had fallen off in popu- tion, he was able to lead out an army of 900,000 foot, 00 elephants, and 100,000 horse. Sankara Varman was varicious and profligate. He plundered Paraspur in order o raise the fame of his own town, now known as Pattan.

Decay of Hindu rulers.

There were signs of decay, and the last of the strong Hindu rulers was queen Didda (950–1003). Then followed the Lohara dynasty. Central authority was weakened, the country was a prey to civil war and violence, and the Damaras, skilled in burning, plundering, and fighting, harassed the valley. The last of this line was Jaya Simha, or Simha Deva (1128); and in his reign the Tartar, Khān Dalcha, invaded Kashmīr, and after great slaughter set fire to Srīnagar. He subsequently perished in the passes on his retreat from Kashmīr, overtaken by snow. Rām Chand, the commander-in-chief of the Kashmīr army, had meanwhile kept up some semblance of authority in the valley, and had routed the Gaddis from Kishtwār. With Rām Chand were two soldiers of fortune, Rainchan Shāh from Tibet and Shāh Mirza from Swāt.

Progress of Islām.

Rainchan Shāh quarrelled with Rām Chand, and with the assistance of the Ladākhis attacked and killed him. He married Kuta Rānī, the daughter of Rām Chand, and embracing Islām became the first Muhammadan king of Kashmīr, but died after a short reign of two and a half years. At this juncture Udayanadeva appeared, who was the brother of Rājā Simha Deva and had fled to Kishtwār. He married the widow, Kuta Rānī, and reigned for fifteen years. On his death Kuta Rānī assumed power for a short time, and committed suicide rather than marry Shāh Mirza, who now declared himself king. He was the first of the line known as Salātīn-i-Kashmīr, and took the name of Shams-ud-dīn. In 1394 Sultān Sikandar, known for his fierce zeal as *butshikan* or 'Iconoclast,' was king of Kashmīr. He was a gloomy fanatic, and destroyed nearly all the grand buildings and temples of his Hindu predecessors. To the people he offered death, conversion, or exile. Many fled; many were converted to Islām; many were killed, and it is said that Sikandar burnt seven maunds of sacred threads worn by the murdered Brāhmans. By the end of his reign all Hindu inhabitants of the valley, except the Brāhmans, had probably adopted Islām.

Muhammadan rulers.

In 1420 Zain-ul-ābidīn succeeded. He was wise, virtuous, and frugal, and very tolerant to the Brāhmans. He remitted the poll-tax on Hindus, encouraged the Brāhmans to learn Persian, repaired some of the Hindu temples, and revived Hindu learning. Hitherto in Kashmīr Sanskrit had been written in Sarada, an older sister of the Devanāgari character. The introduction of Persian, as the official language, divided the Brāhmans into three subdivisions: the Kārkuns, who

entered official life; the Bāchabatts, who discharged the function of the priesthood; and the Pandits, who devoted themselves to Sanskrit learning. Towards the end of this good and useful reign the Chakks sprang into mischievous prominence. Zain-ul-ābidīn drove them out of the valley, but in the time of his weak successors they returned and eventually seized the government of Kashmīr. Turbulent and brave, the Chakks were not fitted for administration. Yākūb Khān, the last of the line, offered a stubborn resistance to Akbar, and with the help of the Bambās and Khakhās routed the Mughal on his first attempt on the valley (1582). But later, not without difficulty and some reverses, Kashmīr was finally conquered (1586).[1]

The Mughals.

Akbar visited the valley three times. He built a strong fort on the slopes of the Hara Parbat, paying high wages, and dispensing with forced labour. His revenue minister, Todar Mal, made a very summary record of the fiscal conditions of the valley. Jahāngīr was greatly attached to Kashmīr. He laid out lovely pleasure-gardens; around the Dal Lake were 777 gardens, yielding a revenue of 1 lakh from roses and bed musk. Much depended on the character of the governors. Alī Mardān Khān, the best of these, built a splendid series of *sarais* on the Pīr Panjāl route to India, and grappled with a famine with energy and success. Aurangzeb visited the valley only once; but in that brief time he showed his zeal against the unbelievers, and his name is still execrated by the Brāhmans. Then followed the disorder of decay, and in 1751 the *Sūbah* of Kashmīr was practically independent of Delhi.

The Durrānis and Sikhs.

From the following year the unfortunate Kashmīris experienced the cruel oppression of Afghān rule, the short but evil period of the Durrāni. Governors from Kābul plundered and tortured the people indiscriminately, but reserved their worst cruelties for the Brāhmans, the Shiahs, and the Bambās of the Jhelum valley. In their agony the people of Kashmīr turned with hope to the rising power of Ranjīt Singh of Lahore. In 1814 a Sikh army advanced by the Pīr Panjāl, Ranjīt Singh watching the operations from Pūnch. This expedition miscarried; but in 1819 Misr Dīwān Chand, Ranjīt Singh's great general, accompanied by Gulāb Singh of Jammu, overcame Muhammad Azīm Khān, and entered Shupiyan. In comparison with the

[1] Kashmīr had been attacked from the side of Ladākh by Mirzā Haidar (the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*) in 1532, and again invaded from the south in 1540, and ruled by him (nominally on behalf of the emperor Humāyūn) until his death eleven years later.

• 175 Afghāns, the Sikhs came as a relief to the unfortunate Kashmīris, but their rule was harsh and oppressive.

Sher Singh, the reputed son of Ranjīt Singh, was a weak governor, and his name is remembered in connexion with the terrible famine which visited the valley. The best of the Sikh governors was Colonel Miān Singh (1833), who is still spoken of with gratitude, and did his best to repair the ravages of the famine. He was murdered by mutinous soldiers, and was succeeded by Shaikh Ghulām Muhī-ud-dīn in 1842. During his government the Bambās, under Sher Ahmad, inflicted great losses on the Sikhs. In 1845 Imām-ud-dīn succeeded his father as governor.

The Dogrās. Gulāb Singh.

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The history of the State, as at present constituted, is practically the history of one man, a Dogrā Rājput, Gulāb Singh of Jammu. Lying off the high roads of India, and away from the fertile plains of the Punjab, the barren hills of the Dogrās had not attracted the notice of the Mughal invaders of India. Here lived a number of small Rājās, and it appears that from very early times the little kingdom of Jammu was locally of some importance. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the power of the Jammu ruler had extended east as far as the Rāvi, and west to the Chenāb; but the power waned and waxed according to the fortunes of petty and chronic warfare. To the east at Basoli and Kishtwār were independent Rājput chiefs, while to the north-west were the Muhammadan rulers of Bhimbar and Rājaori, descendants of Hindu Rājputs. These two states lay on the Mughal route to Kashmīr, and so came under the influence of Delhi. Up the Jhelum valley, the country was held by small independent Muhammadan chiefs, whose title of Rājā suggests their Hindu origin.

Jammu.

About the middle of the eighteenth century Rājā Ranjīt Deo was the ruler of Jammu. He was a man of some mark, and his capital flourished; but at his death about 1780, his three sons quarrelled. The Sikhs were invoked, and Jammu was plundered. From Ranjīt Deo's death to 1846, the Dogrā country became tributary to the Sikh power. Gulāb Singh, Dhyān Singh, and Suchet Singh were the great-grandsons of Sūrat Singh, youngest brother of Ranjīt Deo. They were soldiers of fortune, and as young men sought service at the court of Ranjīt Singh of Lahore. They rapidly distinguished themselves; and Gulāb Singh, for his service in capturing the Rājā of Rājaori, who was fighting the Sikhs, was created Rājā of Jammu in 1820. Dhyān Singh obtained the principality of Pūnch, a hilly country between the Jhelum and the Pīr

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AV1

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Panjāl range, north of Rājaori; while Suchet Singh received Rāmnagar, west by north of Jammu.

Ranjīt Singh had found that the control of the Dogrā country was a difficult task, and his policy of enlisting the services of able Dogrās was at once obvious and prudent. The country was disturbed, each man plundered his neighbour, and Gulāb Singh's energies were taxed to the utmost in restoring order. He was a man of extraordinary power, and very quickly asserted his authority. His methods were often cruel and unscrupulous, but allowances must be made. He believed in object-lessons, and his penal system was at any rate successful in ridding the country of crime. He kept a sharp eye on his officials, and a close hand on his revenues. Rapidly absorbing the power and possessions of the feudal chiefs around him, after ten years of laborious and consistent effort, he and his two brothers became masters of nearly all the country between Kashmīr and the Punjab, save Rājaori. Bhadarwāh fell easily into the hands of Gulāb Singh after a slight resistance. In Kishtwār, the minister, Wazīr Lakhpat, quarrelled with the Rājā and sought the assistance of Gulāb Singh, who at once moved up with a force, and the Rājā surrendered his country without fighting.

Conquest of Ladākh.

His easy successes in Kishtwār, which commanded two of the roads into Ladākh, probably suggested the ambitious idea of the conquest of that unknown land. The difficulties of access offered by mountains and glaciers were enormous; but the brave Dogrās under Gulāb Singh's officer, Zorāwar Singh, never hesitated, and in two campaigns the whole of Ladākh passed into the hands of the Jammu State. It is interesting to notice that the Dogrās did not pillage the rich monastery of Himis, which saved itself by allowing the army in ignorance of its locality to pass the gorge leading to the Himis valley, and by then sending a deputation with an offer of free rations while in Ladākh territory. The agreement made was respected by both parties.

A few years later, in 1840, Zorāwar Singh invaded Baltistān, captured the Rājā of Skārdu, who had sided with the Ladākhis, and annexed his country. The following year (1841) Zorāwar Singh while invading Tibet was overtaken by winter, and being attacked when his troops were disabled by cold, perished with nearly all his army. Whether it was policy or whether it was accident, by 1840 Gulāb Singh had encircled Kashmīr.

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Acquisition of Kashmīr.

In the winter of 1845 war broke out between the British and the Sikhs. Gulāb Singh contrived to hold himself aloof

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AV1

till the battle of Sobraon (1846), when he appeared as a useful mediator and the trusted adviser of Sir Henry Lawrence. Two treaties were concluded. By the first the State of Lahore handed over to the British, as equivalent for one crore of indemnity, the hill countries between the rivers Beās and the Indus; by the second the British made over to Gulāb Singh for 75 lakhs all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the east of the Indus and west of the Rāvi. Kashmīr did not, however, come into the Mahārājā's hands without fighting. Imām-ud-dīn, the Sikh governor, aided by the restless Bambās from the Jhelum valley, routed Gulāb Singh's troops on the outskirts of Srīnagar, killing Wazīr Lakhpat. Owing, however, to the mediations of Sir Henry Lawrence, Imām-ud-dīn desisted from opposition and Kashmīr passed without further disturbances to the new ruler. At Astor and Gilgit the Dogrā troops relieved the Sikhs, Nathu Shāh, the Sikh commander, taking service under Gulāb Singh. Not long afterwards the Hunza Rājā attacked Gilgit territory. Nathu Shāh retorted by leading a force to attack the Hunza valley; he and his force were destroyed, and Gilgit fort fell into the hands of the Hunza Rājā, along with Punial, Yāsīn, and Darel. The Mahārājā sent two columns; one from Astor and one from Baltistān, and after some fighting Gilgit fort was recovered. In 1852, partly by strategy, partly by treachery, the Dogrā troops were annihilated by the bloodthirsty Gaur Rahmān of Yāsīn, and for eight years the Indus formed the boundary of the Mahārājā's territories.

Gulāb Singh died in 1857; and when his successor, Ranbīr Singh, had recovered from the strain caused by the Mutiny, in which he had loyally sided with the British, he determined to recover Gilgit, and to rehabilitate the reputation of the Dogrās on the frontier. In 1860 a force under Devi Singh crossed the Indus, and advanced on Gaur Rahmān's strong fort at Gilgit. Gaur Rahmān had died just before the arrival of the Dogrās. The fort was taken; and since then the Mahārājās of Jammu and Kashmīr have held it, to their heavy cost, and somewhat doubtful advantage.

Ranbīr Singh was a model Hindu: devoted to his religion and to Sanskrit learning, but tolerant to other creeds. He was in many ways an enlightened man, but he lacked his father's strong will and determination, and his control over the State officials was weak. The latter part of his life was darkened by the dreadful famine in Kashmīr, 1877–9; and in September, 1885, he was succeeded by his eldest son, the present Mahārājā

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AV1
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Kr 175

Pratāp Singh, G.C.S.I. He bears the hereditary title of Mahārājā, and receives a salute of 19 guns, increased to 21 in his own territory.

Kr 181

Through all these vicissitudes of government and changes in religion the Kashmīri has remained unaltered. Mughal, Afghān, Sikh, and Dogrā have left no impression on the national character; and at heart the people of the valley are Hindus, as they were before the time of Sikandar Shāh. The isolation from the outer world accounts for this stable unchanging nationality, and passages in the *Rājataranginī* show that the main features of the national character were the same in the early period of Hindu rule as they are now.

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Archaeology.

The valley of Kashmīr is holy land, and everywhere one finds remains of ancient temples and buildings called by the present inhabitants, though without historical foundation, Pāndavlari, 'the houses of the Pāndavas.' These ancient buildings, though more or less injured by iconoclasts, vandal builders, earthquakes, and, as Cunningham thinks, by gunpowder, are composed of a blue limestone capable of taking the highest polish, and of great solidity. They defy weather and time, while the later works of the Mughals, the mosques of Aurangzeb and the pleasure-places of Salīm and Nūr Mahal, are crumbling away and possess little or none of their pristine beauty.

The Hindu buildings of Kashmīr have been described by Sir Alexander Cunningham and Mr. F. S. Growse[1]. They exhibit traces of the influence of Grecian art, and are distinguished by the graceful elegance of their outlines, by the massive boldness of their parts, and by the happy propriety of their decorations. Characteristic features are the lofty pyramidal roofs, trefoiled doorways covered by pyramidal pediments, and the great width of the space between columns.

Mārtand temple.

Among the numerous temples two may be noticed—Mārtand and Payech; the first for its grandeur, and the second for its excellent preservation. Mārtand, the temple of the Sun, stands on a sloping *karewa*, about 3 miles east of Islāmābād, overlooking the forest view in Kashmīr. The great structure was built by Lalitāditya in the eighth century. Kalasa came here at the approach of death and expired at the feet of the sacred image (1089). In the time of Kalhana the chronicler, the great quadrangular courtyard was used as a fortification, and the sacred image is said to have been destroyed by Sikandar, the iconoclast.

The building consists of one lofty central edifice, with a

[1] *Calcutta Review*, No. CVII.

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AVI
Dogra AV6

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certain, and not over-profitable; and in the course of years the proud, gallant, and thriftless Rājput will be ousted by the sturdy Thakkars and Jats (Musalmān, 123,000; Hindu, 25,000). The Rājputs are a handsome race, wiry and active. They observe caste rules very strictly. Female infanticide was the common rule in the memory of men still middle-aged, and the *satī* of Rājā Suchet Singh's ladies is still remembered by the old men. The Khattrīs are an important people, keen and clever. They are the financiers and officials of the State, and some of the best servants of the Mahārājā have been Dogrā Khattrīs.

The Dogrās

D 101

The origin of the word Dogrā is commonly stated by the people themselves to have arisen from the fact that the cradle of the Dogrā race lies between the two holy lakes, Saroin Sar and Mān Sar, not far from Jammu. Drigartdesh, or the 'country of the two hollows,' was corrupted into Dūgar, and Dūgra became Dogrā. From Jammu stretching east along the plains of the Punjab the country is Dogrā; and all who live in that tract, whether they be Hindus, Musalmāns or Sikhs, whether high-born Rājputs or low-born menials, are known as Dogrās, and have certain national characteristics and a common tongue, which differentiate them from any of the other peoples of India. Some authorities doubt this derivation, and say that Dogrā is a corruption of the Rājasthāni word for 'hills' (*dungar*), and that when the Rājputs forced their way up north they gave this name to the hilly country.

D 131

The Dogrās hold the tract of lowland country along the British border, and the outer ranges of hills from the Manawar or Malikāni Tāwi on the west to the Rāvi river on the south-east, which is bounded towards the higher mountains by a line drawn along the hills to the south of the Budil Ilāka through Batoti and thence to the Rāvi river north-east of Basoli. From the Manawar Tāwi to the Jhelum is the country known as Chibhāl, the home of the Chibs. The Chibs are mostly Musalmān, but there are Hindu Chibs as well. Both trace their origin to a Rājput chief, named Jassu. Dharam Chand, a descendant of Jassu, was versed in medicine, and was summoned to Delhi to attend Jahāngīr. The fee in case of success was the emperor's daughter. Dharam Chand was successful; he married the Mughal princess, and was known henceforth as Shādi Khān. But he longed for his country and left his bride, and the next year the Mughals invaded his country and slew Shādi Khān.

The Chibs

Kr 563
Kr 175

The Hindu Chibs are descended from Shādi Khān by his Hindu wife, while the Muhammadan Chibs are the progeny of his family subsequent to their acceptance of Islām.

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ4

the higher hill slopes up to 19,000 feet contain hares and marmots, 136
and the beautiful snow leopard (Felis uncia) and the lynx (F. lynx).
Knight, in Where Three Empires meet, remarks:--

'Not only man, but also all creatures under his domination --horses, sheep, goats, fowls--are diminutive here, whereas the wild animals on the high mountains are of gigantic size.'

Drew counted as many as 300 kiang in a day's march. In outward appearance the kiang is like a mule. brown in colour with white under the belly, a dark stripe down the back, but no cross on the shoulder. One kiang shot by Drew was 54 inches in height. The flesh is rather like beef. They are common on the Changchenmo, and are met with in many parts of Ladakh, where their curiosity often disconcerts sportsmen by alarming game worth shooting. A curious fact in the fauna of Ladakh is the absence of birds in the higher parts of the country. An occasional raven is the only bird to be seen.

Climate. The climate is very dry and healthy. Rainfall is ex- 132
tremely slight, but fine dry flaked snow is frequent, and sometimes the fall is heavy. There is a remarkable absence of thunder and lightning. The air is invigorating, and all travellers notice the extraordinary extremes of cold and heat. In Rupshu the thermometer falls as low as 9° in September. The minimum temperature of the month is 23.5°, and the mean temperature 43°. As Knight remarks:--

'So thin and devoid of moisture is the atmosphere that the variations of temperature are extreme, and rocks exposed to the sun's rays may be too hot to lay the hand upon, at the same time that it is freezing in the shade. To be suffering from heat on one side of one's body, while painfully cold on the other, is no uncommon sensation here.'

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History. The history of Ladakh, until its conquest by Raja Gulab 175 •
Singh in the first half of the nineteenth century, is intimately con- [648]
nected with Tibet, with which country it still holds commercial and religious relations. Stories are told of invasions in the seventeenth century by the neighbouring Baltis, sometimes successful, sometimes repulsed. About the end of the seventeenth century the Ladakhis called in the aid of the governor of Kashmir to repel the Sokpos, a Mughal tribe. Help was promptly given, and the Sokpos were driven out of Ladakh, after which it paid tribute to Kashmir. Prior to annexation by the Dogras, the govemment of the country was a mild form of monarchy. The ruler was called Gialpo or king, but the real power rested with the minister or Kahlon. The only

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4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir AVI

fifty. It comprises the districts and States of Baltistan or Little Thibet, Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar, Chitral, and the Indus Valley from Bunji to Sazin.

The whole of these are either directly under the rule of, or tributary to, Kashmir, which State again is one of the most important of the Native States of India acknowledging the suzerainty of the Queen.

The importance of this portion of the frontier lies mainly in the proximity of the Russian outposts.

It is difficult of access. Gilgit, which is roughly its centre, lies four hundred miles from the line of railway at Rawal Pindi in the Punjab, and the only road leading to it, over which we have permanent control, runs over high passes closed for six months of the year by snow. From a military point of view, therefore, it is a bad position in which to lock up troops. But military considerations alone cannot decide the actions of a Government.

The Sikhs, during the time they ruled Kashmir, had been drawn into crossing the Indus at Bunji, owing to the persistent aggression of their Gilgit neighbours. The Dogras, the present rulers of Kashmir, had inherited their responsibilities, and had added to them by contracting agreements with the neighbouring States. As the suzerain power the responsibilities of Kashmir became ours, and it was recognised that the Hindu-Kush for these hundreds of miles must be our natural frontier.

If I have mentioned Russia, it is not to enter into dissertations as to the feasibility of her attacking India. The Great Empire—the coming shadow of which Napoleon saw with prophetic eye—is expanding in many directions. Central Asia is now bein

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1

000 Government to give their troops a place of honour, and its open and avowed trust in the loyalty of the great martial races, were proclaimed to the world.

It was a great scheme, giving to fighting races, and to their hereditary leaders, a chance of wearing the sword, of resuming the honourable profession of arms, the only one for many races and castes in which a man of good blood can engage. How splendidly the plan has worked but few realise. The Imperial Service Troops now represent a force of some twenty thousand men, not all of course of equal value, but still the pick of the population of the Native States. The Rajput is there, the Sikh of the Manjha, the Mahratta, the sturdy Dogra, the Mahomedan born to war, and no one who has seen the Rahtor chivalry sweep by in its pride at Jodhpur, led by the Maharaja himself, and commanded by men like Sir Pertab Singh, no one who has seen the cavalry, infantry, and transport trains of other States in peace and in war, can fail to realise the value of the great addition to the armed strength of the Empire created by this movement.

• 175 After a few days at Lahore the Viceroy left, and we scattered in all directions, my brother to Sikkim to negotiate with a Chinese Amban, I to write my report on the state of things at Gilgit, and to discuss various questions with the new Resident in Kashmir, Colonel Parry-Nisbet, and with Mr Merk, the well-known authority on the Peshawar frontier. Having finished my report, and got all the information I wanted, I went down in January 1889 to Calcutta to await developments. It was a good opportunity to see some-

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1

thing of the working of the Government mill, which, at the moment I got to Calcutta, was grinding exceedingly slow, so far as my business was concerned. The Sikkim negotiations, however, at last were brought to a conclusion, and my brother returned to Calcutta, but it was long before my fate was decided, many other important questions stopped the way. At last all difficulties were removed, and in March 1889 it was settled that the Gilgit Agency should be re-established, and I was appointed British Agent, with a couple of assistants and an Agency Surgeon—Robertson being detailed for the latter post.

The reasons which influenced the Government of India in arriving at this decision were given in a Despatch* to the Secretary of State, in which it was stated that the advance of Russia up to the frontiers of Afghanistan, and the great development of her military resources in Asia, had admittedly increased the necessity for strengthening our line of defence, and that among the points requiring special attention were the northern passes of the Hindu-Kush, which afford a difficult but not impracticable route for a force large enough to cause excitement, if nothing worse, in Kashmir and among the tribes of Bajour, and perhaps at Jelalabad and on the Punjab frontier. This risk Government could not afford to disregard. It was pointed out that Colonel Lockhart had submitted a scheme with the object of securing this portion of our strategical frontier in 1886, but that his proposals seemed to involve unnecessarily large expenditure, and that I had been sent up the year before with orders to work out a scheme on a more

* Note.—Blue Book Correspondence relating to Chitral, C. 7864, 1895.

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1

175 moderate scale, based on the utilisation of the newly-to-be-created Kashmir Imperial Service Troops. The objects in view were declared by Government to be the watching and control of the country south of the Hindu-Kush, and the organisation of a force which would be able in time of trouble to prevent any *coup de main* by a small body of troops acting across the passes. The conditions seemed favourable. The Mehtar ruled over a united Chitral, and had received our officers with cordiality; his sons had been to India, and understood something of our power. We had had a Native Agent established there for some time. The Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar, whose country had lately been visited by a Russian officer, and who had shortly before been in revolt against Kashmir, had of their own accord asked for a visit from a British mission. Finally, the condition of Kashmir was vastly changed, its army was being re-organised, and it would soon have at its command a compact force of well-trained and disciplined troops. In short, though under Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty, the attempt to establish an influential Agency at Gilgit had failed, there was now good reason to hope for success.

That the re-establishment of the Gilgit Agency fulfilled the purposes of Government, and that our influence was rendered paramount in this portion of the frontier south of the Hindu-Kush, the following pages will show.

I was detained in Calcutta throughout the winter, and then in April 1889 travelled directly up to Srinagar. Kashmir was a dream of beauty that spring, a land of sunshine and warm showers, and the profusion of the

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1

175 wild flowers delighted and astonished afresh. I had a busy time for a couple of months here, getting into touch with the Kashmir officials, and making preparations for my summer march, and for my permanent establishment at Gilgit. The latter was no easy matter, considering that Rawal Pindi, the nearest railway station, was separated by four hundred miles from Gilgit, and that for most of that distance there was but a goat track for a road.

My instructions were that, the moment the sanction of the Secretary of State was received to the proposals of Government, I was to proceed to Gilgit, re-establish the Agency there, visit Hunza and Nagar, and then march to Chitral. If feasible, I was to extend my march, and visit the Khans of Dir and Umra Khan of Jandol. I meant to have another try at the road from Chitral to Peshawar, but again I was to be disappointed, and it was not till six years later that I was to traverse it, after the road had been opened by the force which relieved the beleaguered garrison of Chitral.

133 A still further vision now came to haunt and disturb me, the reported existence of a pass called the Saltoro, which was said to cross the Mustagh range north-east of Skardu in Baltistan, and to give access to the Shimshal valley, and so to Hunza from the north. I knew all about Younghusband's horrible experience in crossing the Mustagh at the end of his great journey across China, and that the road he followed, formerly a well-used one to 000 Yarkand, was completely blocked by glaciers. But rumours were persistent that there was a practicable pass, though its existence was always openly

CHAPTER II.—A BRIEF HISTORY.

● 175 **Past History.**—Kashmir is the only region of India which has a connected history of her own dating from the earliest times. Kalhana began his famous book in Sanskrit verse, the *Rajatarangini* (literally "River of Kings)" in the twel fth century A. D. On account of the paucity of historical material relating to the Hindu period of India as a whole, this book has long attracted the attention of historians—European and Indian. The work was continued after Kalhana by other historians and brought down to the conquest of the Valley by Akbar in 1586. Kashmir was a part of the empire of Asoka. After the commencement of the Christian era, the Valley was invaded by Tartars, and Buddhism became the State religion. In the sixth century A. D., came the white Huns. Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir in A. D. 629-631. Lf litaditya is the most famous of the later Hindu kings. Ha is said to have subdued many kings in India in a tour ofeconquest and then turned his attention to Central As ia and returned victorious from there by way of Tibet after 1 2 years. It is recorded of him that he was a patron of art and culture and carried out many public works and bu ilt many temples. Mahmud of Ghazni attempted to invade Kashmir, but failed to effect entry. Dynastic revolutions followed, and with the propagation of Islam, the Valley passed into the hands of Muslim rulers. The most notable of the Muslim rulers was Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70) who is said to have introduced paper-making, sericulture and shawl-manufacture in Kashmir. He was generous and brave and earned the goodwill of the Hindus, who had been persecuted by his predecessor, Sultan Sikandar, known as "*Butshikan*" or Iconoclast. He encouraged letters, fine arts and polytechnics. Akbar conquered Kashmir in 1586. Jahangir and Shah Jahan were very fond of Kashmir, built stately houses there, planted *chinars* and laid out various pleasure gardens round Lake Dal and elsewhere. In 1750 Ahmed Shah Abdali invaded Kashmir and occupied it. The Afghan rule that came in his wake was harsh, and in 1819 a few of the persecuted people called Maharaja Ranjit Singh to their rescue. The Maharaja sent Raja Gulab Singh, the founder of the present ruling dynasty of Jammu and Kashmir State and another trusted

lieutenant in command of his troops. The Afghan Governor was defeated. From 1819 to 1846 Kashmir was under the Sikhs. In 1842, when a rising took place in the province, Raja Gulab Singh was sent to deal with it. He put down the insurrection and after appointing a Governor of his own, left to return, only a few years later as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. 175

Present Ruling Dynasty.—The present ruling dynasty of the State is an offshoot of the princely house which ruled over Jammu till the annexation of that principality by the Sikh Government of Lahore. What is now the province of Jammu was really a congeries of small principalities. The princes of this territory generally recognized the supremacy of the Rajas of Jammu. Bhimber and Rajouri which were on the Mughal road to Kashmir were more directly under the domination of the Mughal Government until annexed by the Sikhs.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, Raja Ranjit Dev whose capital was at Jammu, achieved great power and welded together most of the principalities round and near Jammu into one kingdom, of which he was the ruler. Soon after his death in 1781, the destinies of his house and country became involved in the political currents which pervaded the Punjab at the time and which culminated in the establishment of the Sikh rule in that country. Jammu and other principalities of the neighbourhood became a part of the Sikh State. The subsequent history of these principalities and their unification is the story of the career of Raja Gulab Singh. He joined Maharaja Ranjit Singh's service about 1812 and so rapidly achieved distinction that he was created Raja of Jammu in 1819. Thereafter Raja Gulab Singh entered upon a policy of consolidating and expanding his power; and annexed, one after the other, the principalities situated between Kashmir Valley and Jammu. He conquered Ladakh and Baltistan between 1835 and 1840. As early as 1831, M. Jocquemont, a French traveller, had written of Raja Gulab Singh: "After Ranjit Singh he is the greatest lord in the Punjab."

At the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839, Raja Gulab Singh was one of the most important figures in the Punjab. But the Government of Lahore became weak by internecine quarrels and by factious rivalries. In 1841, the British Army suffered reverses in Afghanistan

175 and Raja Gulab Singh was deputed to help them. It was then that the seeds of future friendship betwen the Dogra potentate and the British power were sown. Early in 1846, Raja Gulab Singh was installed as Prime Minister of the Punjab State. But the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej against his advice and the battle of Subraon went against them. He had now to perform the delicate task of negotiating a treaty. The Treaty of Lahore was signed on the 9th March 1846, and among other things, provided for the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh in such territories and districts in the hills " as may be made over to the said Raja by separate agreement between himself and the British Government with dependencies thereof, which may have been in the Raja's possession since the time of Maharaja Kharrak Singh." On the 16th of March 1846 was signed the Treaty of Amritsar. Under this treaty, the British recognized him as Maharaja.

The Treaty of 1846 transferred Hazara, among other areas, to the Maharaja. But to make his State more compact, he obtained shortly afterwards Mandir, Dadhi, Kathua and Suchetgarh in exchange for Hazara. For similar reasons, the boundary was further altered in 1847. Under the treaty, Poonch had also passed to Maharaja Gulab Singh. He conferred the principality on Raja Jawahir Singh, a son of Raja Dhyan Singh, his brother, with the status of a feudatory. In 1859 it passed to Raja Jawahir Singh's younger brother, Raja Moti Singh, whose descendant is the present *Illaqadar*.

The earliest historical notice of Ladakh is of the Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hian, who visited Ladakh in A. D. 400. In very early times, it owned temporal and spiritual allegiance to Chinese Tibet. About 1687, it came under the nominal sway of the Mughal Emperor, but it was really in 1834 that Ladakh lost its independence for the first time in history. In that year, the arms of Gulab Singh turned towards the eastern frontier, and it was conquered through the heroism of the famous General Wazir Zorawar. In 1841, Wazir Zorawar undertook the conquest of the Central Tibetan province. He actually advanced up the Indus into the district of Manasarowar overrunning the country. A force from Lhassa, however, approached the invading army and on the 12th December, Zorawar was wounded and died on the

battlefield. This changed the course of subsequent events 175
and Gulab Singh's army had to withdraw. Regarding this battle, Alexander Cunningham says in his book on Ladakh (London: W. H. Allen and Co. 1854):—"The Indian soldiers fought under very great disadvantages. The battlefield was upwards of 15,000 feet above the sea and the time mid-winter, when even during the day the temperature never rises above the freezing point and the intense cold of night can only be borne by people well covered with sheep skins and surrounded by fires."

The history of Baltistan is obscure, but its chiefs had made themselves felt as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, when they overran Ladakh. It seems to have been independent till its annexation by Raja Gulab Singh.

Gilgit was ruled at the beginning of the 19th century by independent Rajas. During the thirty years preceding the advent of the Dogras, several dynastic revolutions took place, in which the chiefs of Yasin, Punial and Nagar took part. In 1841, Gauhar Rahman, the eldest son of the chief of Yasin occupied Gilgit after killing its ruler. At this stage, the Sikh State intervened and sent Syed Nathu Shah to subjugate Gilgit. Syed Nathu Shah succeeded in subjugating the country. After the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846, he transferred his services to Gulab Singh, who entrusted him with the government of Gilgit which he knew so well.

It will thus be seen that Jammu, Kashmir, Poonch, Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit had all along been under numerous dynastic rules before the advent of the Dogras. The Jammu and Kashmir State as it exists to-day is, therefore, the creation of Maharaja Gulab Singh. Mr. K. M. Pannikar says in book: Gulab Singh: Founder of Kashmir (London: Martin Hopkinson, 1930):—"In a century barren of historical achievement in India, Gulab Singh stands out as a solitary figure of political eminence.....He is the only ruler in India's long history who could be said to have extended the geographical boundaries of India....No previous Indian ruler, not even Samadra Gupta or Akbar, had ever dreamt of invading Tibet: and though Zorawar, who ventured too far, paid the penalty for his adventure, the Maharaja's forces routed the Tibetan army and extended the border of India to the other side of the Himalayas."

Chapter III.—The First Three Maharajas.

175 **Maharaja Gulab Singh (1846-57).**—Before giving an account of the progress of the State under the Dogra rule, we may pause to consider the condition of Kashmir under the Afghans and the Sikhs. A brief reference has already been made to the period of the Sultans of Kashmir. The rule of the Mughals was on the whole a period of prosperity for Kashmir. Bernier, who accompanied the emperor Aurangzeb to Kashmir, during the early years of his reign, was very well impressed with what he saw. He was struck with the charms of "Cachemire, the Paradise of Indies" and particularly the beauty and grandeur of the mountain glens and flowing waters along the Mughal route and of gardens like Achhabal. In his book, he made special mention of the industrious habits of the people and the huge outturn of shawls, for which the valley was then famous. But in the wake of the Afghan onslaught, followed religious persecution, rapine and devastation. The brief rule of the Sikhs was no better and did not improve the condition of the cultivators in any way. Conditions were unsettled, and the Sikh Governors had neither the time nor the inclination to effect any lasting improvement in the administration. Moorcroft, the first Englishman to visit Kashmir, found in 1824 that everywhere the people were in a most abject condition "subjected to every kind of extortion and oppression." According to him "not one-sixteenth of the cultivable area was under cultivation." The taxation was exorbitant and corruption was universal. Another visitor, Vigne, who came to Kashmir a decade after, draws almost the same picture as Moorcroft and speaks of whole villages thrown out of cultivation.

The Sikh Government took one-half of the *kharif* crop plus four *traks* (1 *trak*=$5\frac{3}{16}$ seers) per *kharwar* (1 *kharwar*=16 *traks*=83 seers). The village officials got in addition about a *trak* per *kharwar*. Besides, *nazarana* and other taxes and *tambol* had to be paid to the Government. About two-thirds of the gross produce was appropriated by the State in one form or the other. The collection was made in kind, and the villages were farmed out. The Government had the monopoly of grain. In such circumstances, pressure had to be exercised on the peasants to keep the land in cultivation. They lived on the margin

of sustenance and their condition was little better than that of serfs. 175

On his assumption of sovereignty, Maharaja Gulab Singh found that there were over 3,000 *jagir* grants in *dharmarth* and numerous other alienations. The last two Sikh Governors had been very lavish in making these grants. Maharaja Gulab Singh instituted an enquiry, which had the effect of setting aside some of the alienations. The Maharaja also did something to alleviate the misery caused by *begar* (a kind of corvee system, that had prevailed from times immemorial). A number of men was determined in each village for *begar* and every man when on *begar* duty was to be paid a *kharwar* of rice per month and given food. Another reform was the rationing of rice in the Valley.

The shawl industry in Kashmir was so important that a Government department had been maintained for long to deal with it. Maharaja Gulab Singh reorganized the department. Before 1833, the duty on shawls was levied at three annas per rupee of value. Afterwards a tax of Rs. 96 per annum per shop was fixed and extended to one thousand shops. Subsequently, the duty was raised to Rs. 120 per shop. The shawl weavers were grossly under-paid. On the 6th June 1847, they struck work; and about 4,000 shawl workers set out for Lahore. The Maharaja promised them redress and recalled them, and in pursuance of this promise, he abolished the system of indenture under which shawl-weavers worked. He further fixed minimum wages for workers, and introduced a system of taxation by which the amount of tax was regulated in accordance with the price of shawls.

Maharaja Gulab Singh was a strong and stern ruler. But as the frontiers of his State were in a disturbed state, most of his energies were spent in consolidating them. He subdued the turbulent tribes on the borders of the State, and established order in his vast territories, which had never been under one ruler before.

In 1851, trouble arose on the Tibetan frontier over the refusal of the *zamindars* of Ladakh to allow full transport to certain trade missions from Tibet. The dispute was, however, settled by an agreement between the representatives of the Maharaja and the Dalai Lama.

In 1856, the Maharaja's health began to fail. At the outbreak of the Mutiny—in 1857, when he was on his

175 death bed, he called his Council and sent a contingent of 2,000 infantry, 200 cavalry, and 6 guns under the command of his son and heir-apparent, Sri Ranbir Singhji. The Maharaja died in August 1857, at the age of 66 before the Mutiny had been finally quelled. For the brave part played by the State forces in putting down the Mutiny, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who succeeded his father, was offered a *jagir* in Oudh, which he declined, declaring that he had acted as a loyal friend and ally of the British.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-85).—Eleven years of Dogra rule had witnessed the gradual establishment of order in the State. But Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign was not without military activity, as the frontier tribes still gave trouble and several expeditions had to be sent against them, which resulted in the subjugation of Gilgit and the adjacent territories.

After the termination of the Mutiny, the Maharaja turned his attention towards strengthening his position in Gilgit. In 1860, he sent a force under Colonel Devi Singh, which reduced the fort built by Gauhar Rahman, who had just passed away. Gilgit was re-occupied. The forces then advanced towards Yasin and took it. After the re-conquest of Gilgit, Raja Isa Bagdur of Punial, who had incurred the wrath of Gauhar Rahman and sought refuge at the Dogra Court, was re-installed in his old principality. At the time of his re-instalment, he acquired the territory of Ishkoman. In 1863, Yasin was reduced by a force led by Colonel Hoshiara. In 1865, disturbances which originated from Hunza, made the occupation of Gilgit difficult again. The ruler of Chitral assisted the insurgents. Reinforcements were sent by the Maharaja and Darel Valley was occupied. The garrison was re-established at Gilgit. In 1867, Punial was invaded by its enemies from Yasin. But relief was sent from Gilgit and order restored. About this time, the valley of Chaprot was occupied by the Hunza rulers. In 1877, the then ruler of Nagar occupied Chaprot and Chalt, and from that day these areas were held by the Nagar and Kashmir troops. In 1876, Yasin, Kuh-Ghizr and Ishkoman were under the rule of Mehtar Pahlwan Bahadur, who belonged to the ruling dynasty of Chitral and professed allegiance to the Maharaja of Kashmir. But he proved treacherous, and Aman-ul-Mulk was permitted by the Maharaja's Government to incorporate the whole country. He

partitioned the districts among Governors, who were given the position of paid Governors under the Maharaja after their severance from Chitral in 1895. 175

Nevertheless, Maharaja Ranbir Singh was essentially a man of peace and devoted himself to the carrying out of administrative reforms. Administration was reorganized by the constitution of regular departments. Petition boxes were set up. Many imposts were abolished. The marriage tax was abolished; the tax on shawl manufacturers was reduced. Steps were taken to put down infanticide and kidnapping. Crime and drunkenness were put down with a stern hand. The Maharaja supervised the drilling of soldiers. A large number of schools was opened. A telegraph system and a postal system were established. Attempts were made to introduce a system of revenue assessment. The Maharaja started the cultivation of vines at several places. He placed the industry of sericulture on a firm footing. On the whole, trade increased. But the shawl trade received a very serious set-back after the Franco-German war of 1870. Prior to this, fine shawls made in Kashmir and known as Cashmeres were the fashion in aristocratic societies in Europe and were exported in large numbers to the Continent. 175 439

The following extract from the Administration Report of the Punjab for 1864-65 will be read with interest:—"The reduction of customs effected by His Highness last year has led to a considerable increase in the trade with the adjacent districts in the British territory. The trade with Sialkote is reported to have increased in value from Rs. 1,35,000 to Rs. 1,71,000 per annum, that with Jullundur and Hoshiarpore to have more than doubled. Chiefly in regard to the items of saccharine produce and native cloth, in Gujrat there is said to have been a general increase in the trade with Kashmir. The export of silk from Jhelum is stated to exhibit a similar increase and the value of shawl, wools and saffron imported to the Kangra district, an increase of Rs 9,000." In 1867, His Highness decided to apply the rate of 5 per cent. charged for goods in transit from the Punjab to Yarkand to all imports from Central Asia to India, of which the bond was not broken in the State territories. In 1870, a trade treaty was concluded with the British Indian Government. Under its terms, His Highness the Maharaja undertook

175 to forgo all duty on the trade between Central Asia and
439 British India, in return for the same concession made by the Indian Government for goods imported into the State through British India.

175 Maharaja Ranbir Singh was a great patron of letters and art. He encouraged research and gathered a good library of Sanskrit and Persian manuscripts.

In 1872, there occurred a fierce clash between the Shia and Sunni Muslims in Kashmir. The disturbances were put down and the Maharaja gave Rs. 3 lakhs to the Shias for relief. The great famine of 1877 followed, when owing to excessive rains, much of the harvest was washed away. The misery of the people became unbearable: whole villages were in ruins, fields were deserted and trade became extinct. The calamity marked the end of the old system. During the last five years of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign, the assessment of revenue was revised, and the cart road connecting Rawalpindi with Srinagar was commenced.

[692] In 1872, a mixed court of British and State officials
648 was set up for the decision of civil suits between European
175 British subjects and their servants on the one hand and the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja on the other. Political relations between the State and British India were conducted through the Punjab Government up to 1877, when the Officer on Special Duty was placed directly under the Government of India. In the Afghan War of 1878-80, the Maharaja sent a contingent of troops and artillery to assist the British Government.

175 **Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925).**—Maharaja
648 Ranbir Singhji died in 1885 and was succeeded by his
643 eldest son, Maharaja Pratap Singhji. After the new Maharaja's accession, a British Resident was appointed in place of the Officer on Special Duty. The mixed court appointed in 1872 was abolished, and the Resident and his assistants were invested with powers to dispose of civil suits in which both parties were British subjects, or the defendant was a British subject or an Indian subject of His Majesty. A Council was constituted for the administration of the State with Raja Sir Amar Singh, the Maharaja's younger brother, and two selected officers from the Government of India as members. Raja Sir Amar Singh played a very large part in the administration till his death in 1907. He was keenly interested in the development of

the country's resources and in the expansion of trade. 175
Another brother of the Maharaja, Raja Ram Singh was for 648
several years the Commander-in-Chief of the State forces. 643

In 1877, a British Officer had been stationed as Political Agent at Gilgit. He had been withdrawn in 1881, 175
but in 1889 the Agency was re-established. The Agency 648
comprised the chiefships of Hunza and Nagar and the governorships of Punial, Yasin, Kuh-Ghizr and Ishkoman. Hunza and Nagar, separated from each other by a river, are in the extreme north of the territory. The inhabitants of the former are mostly Maulais and of the latter Shias. In 1885, the Kashmir garrisons at Chaprot and Chalt were attacked. When the British Political Agent, Colonel Durand, visited Hunza and Nagar in 1889, the chiefs made an apparent submission, but they failed to keep the conditions agreed upon. Hostilities broke out, and after some fighting, Hunza and Nagar were occupied by a combined force of the British India and the State troops in 1891. The Chief of Nagar was reinstated by His Highness' Government. But the Chief of Hunza fled to Chinese Turkistan, and his half brother, Safdar Khan was installed in his place.

The Sialkot-Jammu Railway was opened to traffic in 496
1890. The Jhelum Valley Cart Road, 132 miles long, 491
which had been commenced in the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, was completed in the early nineties. The part of it between Kohala and Baramulla (98 miles) had been opened in 1889. The road connects Srinagar with Kohala. A bridge at Kohala joins His Highness' territory with British India, and from the bridge runs a 64 miles road through Murree to Rawalpindi. The construction of the Banihal Cart Road is another achievement of the late Maharaja's reign. Its importance lies in the fact that it connects Srinagar, the summer capital of the State with Jammu, the winter capital, which is also a railway station, without passing through British Indian territory. The two routes together with their branch roads form one of the finest systems of mountain roads in the world.

A few words about the old routes to Kashmir appear 487
to be necessary here. The Murree route from Deval to Baramulla consisted of eleven marches. Deval could be reached by cart from Rawalpindi. It was usual to take a boat at Baramulla for Srinagar. But even this short journey took more than 24 hours. Then there was the

operations were conducted below the town of Baramulla for removal of silt and other barriers. Scientific departments were established. The Co-operative movement was introduced.

The assistance rendered to the British Empire in times of emergency and war may also be briefly mentioned. The brilliant services of the State troops in the Black Mountain, Agror Valley and Tirah expeditions met with grateful appreciation of the British Government. The contribution of the State during the Great War in man power was the highest (31,000) among all Indian States. The cost of maintaining the troops sent over-seas came to Rs. 1,11,00,000. In addition, the State contributed three-fourths of a crore to the war loan. Battle Honours were won by the State forces in several fronts in East Africa and Palestine.

they leave their families and to which they return in their old age, and at more or less regular intervals in the meantime. 659'

(5) *Permanent—i. e.*, where over-crowding drives people away, or the superior attractions of some other locality induce people to settle there.

Another form of migration which is probably increasing in India is what may be called daily migration, the practice of living outside some large urban area and coming and going daily for business of one kind or another.

The Census figures do not of course, distinguish between the different types of migration, but a clue to them may be obtained from the proportion of the sexes and the distance of the district of enumeration from the district of birth. In the case of temporary migration, as already stated, females are usually in excess; and the same is the case with periodic migration, so far as it is due to visits to places of pilgrimage. The bulk of periodic and semi-permanent migrants are men; while, where the movement is a permanent one, both sexes are usually found in fairly equal numbers.

I. MIGRATION.

98. Historical Survey.—For a proper understanding of the question of migration in the State it is necessary to sketch for the information of the reader a brief historical survey of the conditions prevailing here prior to its consolidation and occupation by the Dogras. The tract or collection of tracts known as Jammu and Kashmir State has witnessed several historical vicissitudes. The hilly tract which forms the Province of Jammu at the present day was never before the time of Maharaja Gulab Singh united under any single ruler. The ruling classes of this hilly tract were Rajputs, who seem to have taken refuge in these mountain fastnesses when the Rajput hegemony in the Punjab received a shattering blow in the 12th Century by the invasion of Mohammed of Ghor. Their petty principalities maintained their independence during the Moghul times, though they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Moghul Emperors and paid a nominal tribute to Delhi. On the disintegration of the Moghul Empire they regained complete but short-lived independence. The Khalsa Power under the able leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was then rising and the political and territorial ambition of the Khalsa misls included within its orbit the principality of Jammu which could not withstand the tide of the Khalsa Power and passed under its suzerainty. In 1822 Maharaja Gulab Singh was formally installed on the *Gaddi* by Maharaja Ranjit Singh who personally came to Akhnoor to perform the Raj Tilak. The conquest of Kishtwar, Rajouri, Reasi, Chenani and other areas followed from time to time and need not detain us as not relevant to the purpose in hand. 175 167

Kashmir Valley.—The Kashmir Province has also been the play-ground of many historic events. The iniquisitive reader may refer to the pages of Raj Taringini by Kalhana for a historical account of the Dynasties that held sway in the land. For our purpose it is enough to say that the country after having been ruled by the Hindus for a number of centuries, passed under the Muslim Rulers and was held by the latter before its conquest by the Khalsa. In the beginning of the nineteenth century it was considered a part and parcel of the Durrani Empire and not a part of India. In 1912 Maharaja Ranjit Singh started on his first expedition against Kashmir which eventually acknowledged his rule. It was ceded to Maharaja Gulab Singh in consideration of his efforts to bring about amicable relations between the Sikhs and the British, and Kashmir passed into the hands of the Dogras as a result of the treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh signed at Amritsar in 1846.

Ladakh, Baltistan and the Frontier.—The Plateau of Ladakh does not belong geographically to India. It is a part of the Himalayan Tableland and has for a very long time been ruled by a Tibetan Dynasty of Rulers. It formed originally a part of Tibet, but in the fifteenth century it became

K 175 167 independent under a line of Tibetan Kings who accepted the suzerainty of the Grand Lama. It was the last King of this Dynasty Tsepal Namgyal during whose time the country was invaded by the Dogra forces of Maharaja Gulab Singh under General Zorawar Singh. Beginning from 1834, Zorawar had to lead no less than six expeditions before Ladakh and Baltistan finally accepted Dogra rule in 1840. The Frontier Illaqas were also brought under the dependence of the Maharaja at various times.

K 167 It will be clear from the above that the area now known as Jammu and Kashmir had never been effectively united under one ruler before the time of Maharaja Gulab Singh and it may be added much of it had never known settled government. This historical notice has not, however, been taken to arrive at this conclusion but to see how it affects migration and we are justified in drawing the following conclusions pertinent to our subject:—

(*a*) The number of Punjabi immigrants in the State must exceed those of any other Indian Province as nearly all parts of the State were once under the Sikhs of the Punjab.

(*b*) In Jammu Province the number of Afghan immigrants should be less compared with their number in Kashmir as the former province never acknowledged their sway while the latter was for long a part of the Afghan Kingdom.

(*c*) In the Frontier Districts the Tibetan and Afghan immigration should be considerable.

We shall see in the course of the chapter whether our conclusions are borne out by statistics.

D 166 167 221 **99. General : Jammu Province.**—(*i*) *Jammu District.*—Casual migration between different tehsils of the district prevails to a considerable extent. The district also exchanges a big volume of migration with the Punjab. The immigrants from the Punjab are nearly of all types. Those who have taken up State service or trade are semi-permanent or permanent. Those who come to visit their relatives and friends are casual and temporary immigration. The emigrants from this district to the Punjab and other Indian Provinces either go out periodically for labour or semi-permanently seeking employment. The Dogra soldiers in the British Army are generally drawn from this district.

(*ii*) *Kathua District.*—There is no permanent migration. Bakarwals and Gaddis with their flocks flow in the district in winter from cold places like Bhadarwah and Ramnagar and after a temporary stay of four to five months retrace their steps to their summer retreats. The non-agriculturist inhabitants of the district like Brahman, Jhewar, Barber go to British territory hunting jobs and labour according to their respective occupations when the season at home is slack. They return home after a few months' stay.

At harvest time labour is imported from adjoining British territory as the local labour cannot cope with the work.

This migration of a temporary and periodic character has not brought about any noteworthy change in the life of the people except that the locals who are accustomed to emigrate annually have shed some of the caste prejudices and learnt a lesson of cleaner living.

(*iii*) *Udhampur.*—The people of Banihal Illaqa who are mostly Kashmiri Muslims migrate to Jammu and the Punjab when their land is covered with snow and agricultural work is at a stand-still. Their migration generally lasts from Maghar to Chet when they return home with their earnings and the satisfaction of having escaped the rigorous winter of their own place.

1 [Errata: read "dependency" for "dependance"; cf. errata sheet, p. 329, category III.—Analyst]